

5-2010

# Why Jerusalem? Why Then?

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WHY JERUSALEM? WHY THEN? A STUDY OF THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE  
OF JERUSALEM TO THE WEST IN 1095

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A Thesis  
Presented to  
the Graduate School of  
Clemson University

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In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts  
History

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by  
Erin Larson  
May, 2010

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Accepted by:  
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## Abstract

One of the fascinating aspects of this research is how what individuals believe to be true leads to collective action as a society. Research for this paper will show the evolution of Christian theology from the early Christian rejection of the physical world to the medieval reliance on physical people, places and objects as a connection to heaven. This paper will also track the creation of penitential warfare as a way of entering heaven. This paper will prove that Jerusalem was important to medieval Europeans for three reasons: saving the city from the Muslims was an act of penance, the city was a way into heaven and the city was a source of holy places and relics which provided Gods protection.

Dedication

To my parents

## Table of Contents

	Page
Title Page .....	i
Abstract.....	ii
Dedication.....	iii
Chapter	
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: Heavenly Jerusalem .....	11
Chapter 2: Earthly Jerusalem.....	38
Chapter 3: A Physical Connection to God.....	61
Chapter 4: The Crusaders.....	84
Conclusion .....	100
Bibliography... ..	107

## Introduction

In 33 C.E. a condemned criminal was crucified in Jerusalem on the charge of trying to create a rebellion against the appointed governors of Judea. This was not an uncommon story. Judea was a thorn in Rome's side. It had a large native population with an inflexible religion and a dislike of Rome's erratic rule. Many men in Judea had been killed for treason. They became martyrs, their followers scattered and the movements they headed disappeared. In 4 B.C.E. two members of a group called the Qumran had been executed for hacking off the imperial eagle from the temple gate. The other members of the Qumran rioted. The rulers of Jerusalem had to send troops into the temple to put the riot down. A few weeks later there was another riot and the Roman legion had to come into Jerusalem to stop it. The Romans crucified about two thousand rebels. After that the Qumran disappeared from history.<sup>1</sup> But the man in 33 C.E. was different. He died, was buried and then the body vanished. His followers said that he had come back from the dead to lead them. They stayed together and their new religion prospered. It migrated out of Palestine and became the dominant religion in Europe.<sup>2</sup> And, hundreds of years later, the members of this religion made Jerusalem the physical center of their religion: Jerusalem was heaven, the way to heaven, a direct connection to God and the most important place in the world. Based on these beliefs a group of people fought a war for a place many of them had never seen and would never live in. But how

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<sup>1</sup> Karen Armstrong, *Jerusalem One City, Three Faiths* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2005), 139-140.

<sup>2</sup> Mortimer Chambers, et. al., *The Western Experience*, 9<sup>th</sup> ed. (Boston: Mc Graw-Hill, 2007), 144-145.

did the death of a man in 33 C.E. become the basis for a war for this place in 1095 C.E.? This thesis will trace the origins of the Christian beliefs about Jerusalem. It will also look at why, for medieval Christians, these beliefs necessitated a war.

Most historians of the Crusades discuss how important Jerusalem was to the Crusaders but few go into detail about the origins of its significance to the West. Jonathan Riley-Smith calls the First Crusade a war of liberation. The crusaders had two goals: to free eastern Christians from the Muslims and to free the Holy Sepulcher from the Muslims. Earlier medieval Christians went to Jerusalem as an act of pilgrimage for the remission of their sins. Since the Crusaders were also helping God by freeing his tomb from the Muslims they could also count the war as a pilgrimage.<sup>3</sup> Sylvia Schein thinks that the goal of the First Crusade was to liberate the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. Christ's tomb was central to Christianity and needed to be rescued from contamination by the Muslims.<sup>4</sup> Christopher Tyerman has a similar point of view. He sees the First Crusade as a penitential journey to recover the Holy Sepulcher and liberate the eastern Christians. Jerusalem formed the cornerstone of this penitential war because Jerusalem was another name for heaven, and the point of living a religious life was to go to Jerusalem (or heaven). People who had sins to make up for went to the city of Jerusalem

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<sup>3</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 7-11; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders 1095-1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), ix.

<sup>4</sup> Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099-1187)* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), 11, 18.

on pilgrimage so they could go to heaven. The First Crusade was an example of penitential warfare because the goal was Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup>

Adriaan Bredero thinks that people went on the First Crusade because Jerusalem was considered the place to go when you had an unsolvable problem. Pope Urban originally planned the crusade as a way to help the Byzantines but he yielded to popular opinion and made it a war to rescue Jerusalem.<sup>6</sup> According to H.E.J. Cowdery, Jerusalem was an ever present reality for the popes, who lived surrounded by the relics that Constantine had brought back from Jerusalem. The reformed clergy called a crusade because Constantine had made Jerusalem part of the papal environment and it was a scandal that the city was held by the Muslims. Jerusalem was part of the church and it needed to be controlled by Christians.<sup>7</sup> Opinions on the role of Jerusalem in the First Crusade are very similar. There is only one dissenting voice. Carl Erdmann thinks the goal of the First Crusade was to help the Byzantines and that Urban claimed that the war was to retake Jerusalem to fool people into going on crusade.<sup>8</sup> Everyone else thinks that the First Crusade was created to rescue Jerusalem from the Muslims. No one studying the

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<sup>5</sup> Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2006), 63, 67-68.

<sup>6</sup> Adriaan Hendrik Bredero, *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages: The Relations Between Religion, Church and Society*, translated by Reinder Bruinsma (Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 1994), 83, 85.

<sup>7</sup> H.E.J. Cowdery, "The Reform Papacy and the Origin of the Crusades," *Le Concile de Clermont de 1095 et L'Appel a' la Croisade*, (1995): 69-72, 82.

<sup>8</sup> Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 316, 327, 330, 333.

crusades in the last fifty years has done a detailed study about how and when Jerusalem became so important to the Christians.<sup>9</sup>

Several biblical stories, including those about Abraham, Jacob and Esau, Moses and David<sup>10</sup> formed the basis for medieval ideas about Jerusalem. These biblical stories were augmented by the writings of theologians. Saint Augustine converted to Christianity in 386 and was one of the most influential theologians in the late Roman world.<sup>11</sup> His *City of God*, a series of thoughts on the nature of heaven, used Jerusalem as a metaphor for heaven. Augustine considered the city of Jerusalem a prototype of heaven. His work was used by almost every medieval theologian who wrote about Jerusalem. Other primary sources include eyewitness descriptions of Jerusalem. There are many accounts of the rebuilding of Jerusalem under Constantine around 325 and its increasing popularity as a pilgrimage destination and as a home for monks, nuns and other ascetics. These include the writings of Egeria, the Bordeaux Pilgrim, Eusebius and Sozomen.<sup>12</sup> Writers

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<sup>9</sup>At least whose work is written in English.

<sup>10</sup> *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, ed. Michael D. Coogan (Oxford: New Oxford University Press, 2001), Gen. 12-17, 25, 27; Ex. 1, 3, 19, 23; 1 Sam. 4, 1 Ch. 36.

<sup>11</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, translated by Henry Bettenson (London: Penguin Books, 2003), xxvii-xxix.

<sup>12</sup> "Eusebius," ' in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 132-137; "Sozomen," ' in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 137-139; "Egeria," ' in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 130; "Jerome," ' in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 151-152;

like William of Tyre and Mujir al-Din give accounts of life in Jerusalem just before the crusade and reasons why the crusaders thought the city needed to be liberated.<sup>13</sup> There are five accounts of the speech at Clermont which launched the First Crusade, four different histories written about crusade recruitment, and letters written by the Crusaders that can be used to look at possible motivations for crusading.

There are seven chronicles of the First Crusade. The *Gesta Francorum* was written before 1101. The author is unknown. He is believed to have traveled with the crusading army to Jerusalem.<sup>14</sup> Fulcher of Chartres traveled with Stephen of Blois on crusade and settled in Jerusalem. His account of the crusade was written in 1105.<sup>15</sup> Ekkehard went to Jerusalem with the 1101 crusade. He used the *Gesta* as the basis for his history of the First Crusade. He was living in Germany when the crusaders came through so part of his account could be based on what he saw. Ekkehard's account was written in 1112.<sup>16</sup> Only three chroniclers are believed to have been at the Council of Clermont. None of them went on the First Crusade and all of them used the *Gesta* as a source.

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"The Bordeaux Pilgrim," ' in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 143.

<sup>13</sup> "William of Tyre," ' in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 255-256; "Mujir al-Din," ' in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 261.

<sup>14</sup> August C. Krey, editor, *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1921), 7. *The First Crusade* is an old book but all the other source books I looked at reprinted Krey's translations.

<sup>15</sup> Krey, *The First Crusade*, 9-10.

<sup>16</sup> Krey, *The First Crusade*, 11.

Robert the Monk wrote his account before 1107. Balderic of Dol wrote his after 1107 and Guibert of Nogent wrote his between 1108 and 1112.<sup>17</sup> William of Tyre wrote his account around 1150. There are no surviving accounts of Urban's speech at Clermont written in 1095. All the accounts are in histories written after the Crusaders succeeded. All the chroniclers were high-ranking churchmen. Churchmen or nobles wrote most of the surviving letters.

In 1095 there were rumors that the Muslims were destroying Jerusalem. Some rumors claimed that holy sites were being torn down while others said that the city was being systematically defiled. The possibility of the city's destruction was terrifying. It was decided that the best solution was to place Jerusalem under Christian control.

In November of 1095 Pope Urban II asked the people of Europe to go east and fight the Muslims. Though debated by historians, most agree that the primary objectives of the war were to help the Byzantine Empire defend lands in Anatolia and then to march down the coast and conquer Palestine. Urban's request spread around Europe with the help of churchmen and itinerant preachers. It resulted in the largest movement of armed forces since the Roman Empire.<sup>18</sup>

This makes the army sound much more organized than it was. It was not even an army. Groups of people left at various times and traveled by diverse routes. Many groups never made it to their destination. They were attacked by bandits, got lost or simply gave up and went home. One group, led by Peter the Hermit, did arrive in Constantinople. They were not much help in Anatolia, since the group consisted mostly of poor men and

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<sup>17</sup> Krey, *The First Crusade*, 13.

<sup>18</sup> Tyerman, *God's War*, 58-63; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 2-8.

women with no advanced weapons. They had been living on what they could scavenge. By the time they arrived in Byzantium everyone was so tired and hungry that even the armed men were useless. They waited in Byzantium for several weeks and then demanded provisions and directions to the Holy City.

Emperor Alexis was at a loss. He had requested soldiers to help with his wars, but he knew nothing about an attack on Jerusalem. He was not prepared to feed so many people, most of whom were useless to him. He knew that there was a more organized and better equipped force preparing to leave for Byzantium. He suggested that Peter and his army wait for reinforcements. When they insisted on going anyway, Alexis gave them directions and waited for the return of any survivors. He did not have to wait long. A few of Peter's people returned to Byzantium and reported that the army had been massacred by the first group of Muslim soldiers they met.<sup>19</sup>

The next arrivals from Europe were better organized and had more soldiers but they were no more interested in Anatolia than their predecessors. They were headed to Jerusalem. Alexis, who seems to have decided that European help was more trouble than it was worth, made the leaders promise to return any lands they conquered to Byzantium, gave them directions, some provisions, and some soldiers and let them go. The Byzantine

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<sup>19</sup> "Version of Anna Comnena," *The Medieval Sourcebook*, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/peterhermit.html>; "Albert of Aix" in *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants*, edited by August C. Krey (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1921) 73-76; "William of Tyre," *The Medieval Sourcebook*, <http://fordham.edu/halsall/source/peterhermit.html>; "Guibert de Nogent," *The Medieval Sourcebook*, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/peterhermit.html>.

soldiers left the crusade during the battle for Antioch.<sup>20</sup> The Western army fought its way through Palestine for a year and in 1099 they attacked Jerusalem. The city fell after several days of siege.

The First Crusade is often seen as beginning in 1095, but this study will reveal how evolving concepts about Jerusalem, along with the changing medieval environment in Western Europe, contributed to the ideas and events that led up to the First Crusade. It took Christians five hundred years to decide to rescue the city, so the First Crusade cannot be seen as a direct consequence of the Muslim takeover. Why was Jerusalem so important to Christianity? When did it become important to Christianity? Why did the Crusaders make such a determined attempt to take the city in 1095 C.E. when they had never shown any interest in controlling Jerusalem before then?

The First Crusade was motivated by a desire for salvation. Jerusalem provided two forms of salvation: a way to heaven, and a way to gain God's protection. Early Christians borrowed the idea of the promised land from the Jews. They used the idea of God giving a kingdom to his chosen people as the basis for their concept of heaven. Heaven was a place of peace and comfort in contrast to a world that was violent and uncomfortable.

The Christian promised land was not the actual city of Jerusalem but a potential Jerusalem that did not exist on earth. Early Christians saw the terrestrial city of Jerusalem as a Jewish city and therefore a cursed land. This opinion began to change when Constantine built the Holy Sepulcher in 325. Interest in history increased which created a

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<sup>20</sup> Tyerman, *God's War*, 106-122; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 26-29.

large group of expatriate Christian scholars in Jerusalem. These scholars encouraged people to make pilgrimages to Jerusalem. The city came to be seen as a Christian inheritance. A theology developed, new for Christians that made Jerusalem the naval of the earth and the center of God's plans. Jerusalem was used as a reminder for heaven then as a type for heaven, and finally as a way into heaven. It was also considered the site of the Apocalypse and essential to the end of the world and the coming of heaven.

Early Christians believed that when they died the good went to heaven and the bad went to hell for eternal punishment. Over time the concept of purgatory developed. Purgatory was a place of temporary punishment. A person went to heaven after their time in purgatory was finished. Time in purgatory could be shortened by prayers, repentance and service to God. Service included building churches and monasteries, sending alms and fighting. The tradition of fighting for God created the concept of penitential war or wars fought to help God. The First Crusade was one of these penitential wars for two reasons: they were protecting God's land and they were helping God advance his plans to eventually end the world. The crusaders were promised that if they died on crusade they would go straight to heaven.

Jerusalem was also valued as a place to get God's help. Christians wanted God's protection. God's protection frequently took the form of miracles. Since miracles were signs of God's favor, those God liked were more likely to be granted miracles. Saints were the best people to ask because God loved them for obeying him. Saints could be used as intermediaries even after death. People used relics and holy places to contact saints and request favors. Jerusalem was a popular pilgrimage destination because its

relics and holy places were connected to Christ, God's mortal avatar. Pilgrims especially valued the Holy Sepulcher and Christ's Cross which was housed in the Sepulcher.

Another reason for the crusade was the perceived need to protect these connections to God.

This thesis will demonstrate four historical processes. First it will show the evolution of the concept of a heavenly Jerusalem. Second it will explain how earthly Jerusalem evolved from a Jewish city to a valuable Christian inheritance. Third it will discuss how the belief in relics and holy places made Jerusalem a good place to get God's protection. Fourth it will show how perceived threats to the city created the First Crusade. These four things made Jerusalem a place that Christians needed to recover and protect in 1095.

## Chapter 1: Heavenly Jerusalem

Medieval Christians believed in two Jerusalems. There was the Jerusalem on earth, the physical city, and then there was a Jerusalem in heaven. The Jerusalem in heaven was the new Jerusalem as described in the Book of Revelations, the city that would come down from heaven and make the world perfect. Heavenly Jerusalem was God's home. Early Christians believed the dead either went to heaven or to hell. Medieval theologians expanded the afterlife to include a temporary hell know as purgatory. The amount of time a person spent in purgatory could be lessened by prayer and service to God. Service to God took many forms including giving alms and fighting for the church. The doctrine of penitential war granted people forgiveness for their sins in exchange for fighting on God's behalf. Medieval Christians saw heavenly Jerusalem was a place of perfect peace. Since peace was rare in medieval Europe heavenly Jerusalem was valued as an escape from the violence of this world and from hell.

Medieval Europe was not a secure place. Around the year 300 the Germanic invasions helped divide the Roman Empire into little bits. Tribes like the Goths, the Vandals and the Burgundians would come in to raid and then find a place to settle. The Visigoths went from Constantinople through Italy and into Spain around 376. The Vandals went through Gaul and Spain and settled in Carthage around 455. The Huns came through Gaul and into Italy around 451 and then left. The Franks settled in Belgium.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Morris Bishop, *The Middle Ages* (Boston: Mariner Books, 1996), 12-22; Mary Joseph Aloysius, "The Peace Laws and Institutions of Medieval France," *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 6

As these groups moved in, Rome recruited them into the army to fight the next wave of tribes. The tribes came to control the army. As Rome fell apart they took over.<sup>22</sup> These tribes lacked Rome's long-term stability. The tribes controlled smaller territories so a king would begin by taking over all of his neighbors and consolidating the areas into one kingdom. He gave land to his nobles who gave him soldiers in return. The kings had little influence off the battlefield. They had no wealth except for land and they gave that away to acquire soldiers. When a king died his kingdom was divided between all of his sons and the whole process started over again. These kingdoms were always preparing for a war, fighting a war or recovering from a war.

The wealthy were the powerful nobles who controlled the land. Ideally the system worked like a hierarchy with the king on top. In practice the person who held the biggest tract of land was in charge.<sup>23</sup> For example, until the eleventh century France was a collection of duchies ruled by powerful nobles with a weak royal family stuck in the middle. The king's lands reached only from Paris to Orleans. In contrast the duchy of Aquitaine was five times that size. Nobles often fought each other for supremacy.<sup>24</sup> Situations like this were the cause of most of the fighting in Western Europe.

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(1926): 379; Chris Wickham, "The Other Transition: From the Ancient World to Feudalism," *Past & Present*, No. 103 (1984): 15-16.

<sup>22</sup> Patrick J. Geary, *Before France & Germany: The Creation & Transformation of the Merovingian World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 20-30.

<sup>23</sup> Bishop, *The Middle Ages*, 109-115, 129-128.

<sup>24</sup> Bishop, *The Middle Ages*, 66; Georges Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 16-17; Aloysius, "Peace Laws and Institutions of Mediaeval France," 382-383.

Technically, nobles rented their land from their liege lord. The king rented large tracks of land to several important families. These families divided the land into smaller portions. They kept what they could manage themselves and rented out the rest to lesser nobles. These nobles might run the lands themselves or they might rent all or part of them out. Most nobles paid their rents in kind, usually by equipping soldiers for their liege lord. They also paid various taxes when they wed or inherited property.<sup>25</sup> In England in 1016 an earl's heir owed his king eight horses, four with saddles, four helmets, four coats of mail, eight spears, eight shields, four swords and 200 mancuses of gold.<sup>26</sup>

Around the year 800 new groups of barbarians began to move from the east. The Slavs occupied the Balkans. The Macedonians took over parts of Greece, Russia and Germany. The Arabs took over most of the Mediterranean and the Vikings came down from the North. Most of these groups were colonizers.<sup>27</sup> At first the Vikings made few attempts to colonize Western Europe; they were almost always raiders. They would set up a base on an island or in a coastal city. Then they would move up nearby rivers attacking cities and monasteries. They usually took things that were small and valuable, like gold, silver or jewels. They really liked to attack monasteries because the monks usually had a lot of valuable chalices and reliquaries. They also demanded protection money. People who resisted them were exterminated. Church litanies included the line "From the fury of the Northmen, good Lord, deliver us!" Paris was besieged four times,

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<sup>25</sup> Bishop, *The Middle Ages*, 109-128.

<sup>26</sup> "Canute, King of the English: *On Heriots and Reliefs*, c. 1016-1035," *The Medieval Sourcebook*, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/1035Cnutrelf.html>, 1.

<sup>27</sup> Bishop, *The Middle Ages*, 12-22; Wickham, "The Other Transition," 18-21.

pillaged three and burned twice in forty years.<sup>28</sup> Medieval Europe was not a peaceful place.

Heavenly Jerusalem would be a stark contrast from medieval Europe. The new city would be made of expensive materials. On earth only the very wealthy would afford to build strong, permanent homes. But even they lived in halls with two or three rooms. The main room was the hall where everyone slept and where most of the business, cooking and daily chores took place. Other rooms were used for overflow. Heat came from a fire in the middle of the floor. The smoke went out of the narrow windows and the door in the summer. In the winter the room stayed smoky. The owners of the hall would have a bed, which they shared with their young children and everyone else slept on pallets on the floor. A few chests, some carpets and wall hangings generally completed the furniture.<sup>29</sup>

Life was even less pleasant for the peasants of medieval Europe, who lived on small plots of land that they rented from the local nobility. They could sell their lease to another peasant with the lord's permission. They could move out of the lord's territory and they could marry someone from outside the lord's territory with the lord's permission. The peasants paid their rent in kind. They also had to help with projects like fixing roads and building bridges. They paid taxes to the lord when they married or became adults. The lord owned the mill, the community oven, and the wine press. The

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<sup>28</sup> Bishop, *The Middle Ages*, 28-32.

<sup>29</sup> Bishop, *The Middle Ages*, 116-118; Lisa M. Bitel, *Women in Early Medieval Europe, 400-1100*, Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 28; "Peasant Dwellings," in *Women's Lives in Medieval Europe*, edited by Emilie Amt (New York: Routledge, 1993), 193.

peasant had to use those facilities. They could not make their own and they had to pay a fee for use. The lord owned the forests and rivers. Peasants could not hunt or fish. They also frequently paid fees to keep chickens or livestock. A peasant's house was made of wattle and daub. A frame of sticks was made and then branches were woven through it and clay was used to seal the cracks. The roof was made of thatch. Heat came from a fire in the middle of the room. Peasants slept on pallets.<sup>30</sup>

Heavenly Jerusalem would have walls as clear as crystal and have a high wall with twelve gates. The walls would be made of jasper and the foundations would be decorated with jaspers, sapphires, agates, emeralds, onyx, beryls, topaz, chrysoprase, jacinths and amethysts. The gates would be made of pearl and the city of glass.<sup>31</sup> Surely a city that could afford to decorate its walls with jewels would have comfortable accommodations for everyone. It could be assumed that everyone in heaven would have a bed and be warm and comfortable. The city would even give off its own light so it would never be too dark.<sup>32</sup>

Heavenly Jerusalem would be built to impress rather than to defend because there would be no more war. The city would be beautiful and wealthy because it would never be attacked and there would be no thieves. The city would have no evil so there would be

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<sup>30</sup> Mortimer Chambers, et. al, *The Western Experience*, 222-225; Bitel, *Women in Early Medieval Europe*, 211; Bishop, *The Middle Ages*, 209-222.

<sup>31</sup> Rev. 21:9-21 (New Oxford Annotated).

<sup>32</sup> Rev 21:11 (New Oxford Annotated).

no need to fight. The city would even have two sources of life and a source of healing. So there would be no pain and no death.<sup>33</sup>

And the city has no need of sun or moon to shine on it, for the glory of God is its light, and its lamp is the Lamb. The nations will walk by its light, and the kings of the earth will bring their glory into it. Its gates will never be shut by day- and there will be no night there. People will bring into it the glory and the honor of the nations. But nothing unclean will enter it, nor anyone who practices abomination or falsehood, but only those who are written in the Lamb's book of life. ...the throne of God and of the Lamb will be in it, and her servants will worship him; they will see his face, and his name will be on their foreheads. And there will be no more night; they need no light of lamp or sun, for the Lord God will be their light, and they will reign forever and ever.<sup>34</sup>

People valued the heavenly Jerusalem as God's home and a perfect place. God's home would be full of light and warmth. Worthy people would be welcome there and they would have glory and honor. They would be treated well and have security, something they lacked in life. Escaping from the world was the Christian definition of salvation. God promised the world salvation.

Christian theology developed the idea that since Christ died in Jerusalem the city must be the most important place in the world and the setting for all major events. That made Jerusalem the naval of the world, God's home, and the place where the Apocalypse would take place.<sup>35</sup> But the physical city of Jerusalem was too mortal to be heaven. Christians had to reconcile their idea of a perfect Jerusalem with the actual city, so they decided there were two Jerusalems.

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<sup>33</sup> Rev. 22:1-2 (New Oxford Annotated).

<sup>34</sup> Rev. 21:23-22:5 (New Oxford Annotated).

<sup>35</sup> Ezekiel 48:35 (New Oxford Annotated).

The Christian idea of heaven was rooted in the Jewish belief of the holy land. The Jews believed that God had a special relationship with Jerusalem. The promised land began with God's promise to Abraham. God told Abraham to leave Ur. Abraham was promised that he would be guided to a new land where his family would found a great nation that would have God's personal protection. The new land promised to Abraham was called Canaan. God made a covenant with Abraham and his descendants; he would give them the land of Canaan if they would agree to worship him and only him. "I am the Lord who brought you from Ur of the Chaldeans, to give you this land to possess."<sup>36</sup> When Rebekah, the wife of Abraham's son Isaac, was pregnant with Esau and Jacob, God told her that her sons would form two nations. God would establish his covenant with the younger boy. Esau sold his birthright, the right to lead the tribe, to Jacob. Jacob was made the leader and was granted God's personal protection. The great nation was established by his descendants and his family settled in Canaan.<sup>37</sup> Jewish tradition claims this land was Palestine. The promised land was central to God's care of the Jews. They only held the land if God approved of what they did. If they lost his approval, as Esau did, they lost Palestine. Ownership of Palestine became the indication of God's protection. Jacob's family left Canaan and moved to Egypt where they were enslaved. God sent Moses to release them and take them back to Canaan. God renewed his promise to the Israelites. If they worshiped God they would become a great nation. The Israelites were told that God would help them drive out all the peoples living in Canaan, including

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<sup>36</sup> Gen. 15:7 (New Oxford Annotated).

<sup>37</sup> Gen. 12:1-3, 13:12-17, 17:1-22, 24: 67, 25: 23, 31-33, 27:27-29, 35:9-12, 37:1 (New Oxford Annotated).

the Hittites, the Canaanites and Hivites. The Israelites were instructed to build an ark to symbolize their covenant with God and a tabernacle to house the ark. The Tabernacle would also be the place where they would worship God.

Whenever the Israelites began worshipping other Gods, like Baal, God allowed them to be conquered. The ark built in the time of Moses became known as the Ark of the Covenant. It became more than a symbol of the covenant between God and the Israelites. People came to believe that the presence of the Ark was synonymous with the presence of God. During the life of the prophet Samuel, the Ark was carried into battle so that God could help the Israelite army.<sup>38</sup>

Jerusalem first appears in the Bible as King David's capital.<sup>39</sup> David was God's appointed ruler and control of Palestine was promised exclusively to his descendants.<sup>40</sup> His capital city was also associated with God. David brought the Ark into Jerusalem and made Jerusalem the holiest place in Palestine.<sup>41</sup> Then Solomon, David's son, built the Temple in Jerusalem. The Temple had two purposes: to house the Ark of the Covenant and to give the Jews a place to pray to God.<sup>42</sup> Jerusalem was important as the home of the Temple and the Ark. A tradition developed that God had a special relationship with Jerusalem. David made Jerusalem the religious and the political capital of his empire.

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<sup>38</sup> Gen. 46:3; Ex. 1:8-12, 3:17, 19:5-6, 23:23-31, 25:1-16; Joshua 1:2-3,8; Judg. 2:11-15; 1 Sam. 4:3; 1 Chr. 36:15-23 (New Oxford Annotated).

<sup>39</sup> 2 Sam. 5:5 (New Oxford Annotated).

<sup>40</sup> 2 Sam. 7:8-17; 1 Chr. 17:12-14; 2 Chr. 6:4-6 (New Oxford Annotated).

<sup>41</sup> 2 Sam. 6:12-19; 1 Chr. 15-16:3 (New Oxford Annotated).

<sup>42</sup> 1 Kings 6, 8:1-21, 27-30; 1 Chr. 6:7-11, 18-21 (New Oxford Annotated).

The Jews called the Temple God's home and the Ark his throne. After the Ark and the Temple were lost Jerusalem became the focus of God's promise to the Jews.<sup>43</sup>

The prophet Jeremiah who died around 587 B.C. saw the city as the future throne of God. Jeremiah was alive when the Babylonians conquered Jerusalem. He did not specify the temple but focused on the heart of the city which was the presence of God. Even if the Ark and the Temple passed away the presence of God would be in the city.<sup>44</sup> When the early Christians adopted Jewish beliefs they made some changes. Jews believed that the promised land consisted of a physical kingdom, made up of Palestine and some of the surrounding territories, that were ruled by God's appointed king. The early Christians turned the promised land into heaven which covered the whole earth and was ruled by God.<sup>45</sup>

Heavenly Jerusalem was also central to God's promise to his people. Only this time the promise was to the Christians and the details were different. Christians were God's heirs under the new covenant which promised them eternal life and the kingdom of heaven if they worshiped God. Christians believed that rewards came after death. They placed the promised land in the hereafter rather than on earth. They believed that God would come back to rule them personally. So their kingdom was ruled by God himself instead of by his appointed servant. All of God's loyal servants went to heaven- "Christ

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<sup>43</sup> Davies, *The Gospel and the Land*, 131-133; Is. 2:2; 1 Sam 4:4; Jer. 3:16-17 (New Oxford Annotated).

<sup>44</sup> Davies, *The Gospel and the Land*, 133; *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 533, 1073.

<sup>45</sup> Ann R. Meyer, *Medieval Allegory and the Building of the New Jerusalem* (Rochester: D.S. Brewer, 2003), 63.

has set us free.”<sup>46</sup> Like the Jews the Christians were a chosen people. Peter called them ‘a holy nation.’<sup>47</sup> This nation was the new foundation stone of God’s kingdom.<sup>48</sup> But this kingdom was not yet based in a physical place. It was above the earth and entry into it was based on behavior. Only members of the Christian church who obeyed God’s laws could enter heaven. The blessing of heaven depended on obedience.<sup>49</sup> Some went to heaven by dying and others would enter heaven when the world ended.

The heavenly Jerusalem would be the glorified version of the earthly Jerusalem. No one would ever need to leave or be afraid. Revelations describes the heavenly Jerusalem in detail:

Then I saw a new heaven and new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away, and the sea was no more. And I saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard a loud voice from the throne saying, ‘See, the home of God is among mortals. He will dwell with them; they will be his peoples, and God himself will be with them; he will wipe every tear from their eyes. Death will be no more; mourning and crying and pain will be no more, for the first things have passed away.’ And the one who was seated on the throne said, ‘See, I am making all things new.’ ... Those who conquer will inherit these things, and I will be their God and they will be my children. But as for the cowardly, the faithless, the polluted, the murders, the fornicators, the sorcerers, the idolaters, and all liars, their place will be in the lake that burns with fire and sulfur, which is the second death.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, translated by Henry Bettenson (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 713; Matt. 5:17-20; Mark 4: 14-32; Gal. 4:22-31, 5:1 (New Oxford Annotated); Davies, *The Gospel and the Land*, 197.

<sup>47</sup> 1 Peter 2: 6-9 (New Oxford Annotated).

<sup>48</sup> Isaiah 28:16-18 (New Oxford Annotated).

<sup>49</sup> Thomas Renna, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought, 400-1300*, Medieval Studies, No. 14 (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002), 79.

<sup>50</sup> Rev. 21:1-8 (New Oxford Annotated).

Then heavenly Jerusalem would come down from the sky because the earth was dirty from sin. It had to be cleansed before God could live there.

The most important aspect of heavenly Jerusalem was that it was peaceful, there would be no wars. Peace was important to the medieval Christians because it was rare. Churchmen made numerous efforts to prevent wars but warfare was considered the only occupation for aristocrats. This was why so many nobles paid their fees and rents in horses, weapons and soldiers. Warfare was how they made a living. When they could not trade for what they needed they took it. It was also necessary to defend against Vikings and bandits. This constant warfare was hard on everyone.<sup>51</sup>

Clerics tried to put an end to the fighting. The Peace of God started as an objection to the private warfare between nobles. It was sponsored by the church. They were the best organized group in Europe and they had the widest influence. They also had the power to excommunicate and pronounce interdicts. The standard method was to gather all the people in an area together, draw up a list of actions to which the church objected and then ask everyone to swear not to do anything on the list. The goal was to place churchmen and the poor under the church's protection. The Peace of God was set up after the collapse of the Carolingian empire to replace the government's justice

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<sup>51</sup> "Andrew of Fleury: *The Peace League of Bourges*," The Medieval Sourcebook, <http://urban.hunter.cuny.edu/~thead/bourges.htm>, 1-2; Aloysius, "The Peace Laws and Institutions of Medieval France," 381, 388; H.E.J. Cowdrey, "The Peace and the Truce of God in the Eleventh Century," *Past & Present*, No. 46 (1970): 47-48.

system.<sup>52</sup> In 989 the Archbishop of Bordeaux called a council at Charroux in the Aquitaine and asked men not to attack priests, churches and peasants' livestock. He made a pact with the local nobles and threatened those who broke it with excommunication.<sup>53</sup> In the next few years there were similar councils held at Narbonne and Puy. The council at Puy also banned stealing peasants' livestock, holding people for ransom, taking church lands, robbing merchants, burning church buildings and taking church offerings. The Bishop forced the nobles to take the oath with armed support from two of his kinsmen - the counts of Brioude and Gevandan.<sup>54</sup> At least six other French cities tried to establish treaties.<sup>55</sup> The movement began to spread beyond France in 1030. Abbot Odilo of Cluny led a letter writing campaign aimed at popularizing the Peace of God with the Italians. They had no luck. The Peace did spread to Spain in 1056 when Barcelona established a treaty. A similar treaty was established by William the Bastard in Normandy in 1080. It was called the Ducal Truce of Normandy and it enforced judicial procedure enforced by the Duke. It was the only treaty that lasted more than a few years.<sup>56</sup> In the same council where he called the First Crusade, Pope Urban demanded that those who attacked bishops be excommunicated and those who attacked monks, priests, nuns, church servants or

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<sup>52</sup> Aloysius, "Peace Laws and Institutions of Mediaeval France," 384; Loren C. MacKinney, "The People and Public Opinion in the Eleventh-Century Peace Movement," *Speculum*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1930): 183; Cowdrey, "The Peace and Truce of God in the Eleventh Century," 42-43.

<sup>53</sup> Aloysius, "Peace Laws and Institutions of Mediaeval France," 384; MacKinney, "The People and Public Opinion in the Eleventh Century," 182-184.

<sup>54</sup> Aloysius, "Peace Laws and Institutions of Mediaeval France," 386; Cowdrey, "The Reform Papacy and the Origin of the Crusades," 385.

<sup>55</sup> Aloysius, "Peace Laws and Institutions of Mediaeval France," 389.

<sup>56</sup> MacKinney, "The People and Public Opinion in the Eleventh-Century Peace Movement," 193-194, 196-197.

pilgrims be cursed. Those who stole or burned houses were to be cursed and excommunicated.<sup>57</sup> The Peace of God was an attempt to control the violence.

The Truce of God was an attempt to limit when people could fight. It began in 1027 at Roussillon with an edict forbidding fighting on Sundays. In 1041 a group of bishops from the Aquitaine forbade fighting from Wednesday night until Monday morning. People who made a pact to fight only on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays were promised the absolution of their sins. Those who willingly violated the pact faced excommunication.<sup>58</sup> Unfortunately most of these groups had no way to enforce these pacts.<sup>59</sup>

The Peace and Truce of God movements were not successful because most people ignored them. For example, in 1038 one archbishop in Bourges bound all men older than fifteen to follow an oath of peace. They also swore that they would oppose any attempt to break the oath. This was ironic because churchmen enforced this oath by attacking those who broke it. Those who violated their oath had their castles burned to the ground. Andrew of Fleury reported that churchmen scattered the peasants living around those castles and chased them to inspire divine terror.<sup>60</sup> Although the nobles took the oath and violated it, the peasants, whom the treaties were intended to protect, were the ones who

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<sup>57</sup> "Fulcher" in *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants*, edited by August C. Krey (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1921), 27-28.

<sup>58</sup> Aloysius, "Peace Laws and Institutions of Mediaeval France," 388-390.

<sup>59</sup> Aloysius, "Peace Laws and Institutions of Mediaeval France," 388; Loren Carey MacKinney, "The Laity in French Church Councils of the Eleventh Century," Vol. 9, No. 4 (1929): 575-576; MacKinney, "The People and Public Opinion in the Eleventh-Century Peace Movement," 198-199.

<sup>60</sup> "Andrew of Fleury," <http://urban.hunter.cuny.edu/~thead/bourges>, 1.

suffered the most. Bishops could pronounce interdicts and excommunications but they could not force local clergy to observe them, nor could they afford to lose too much of the nobles' support. Threats of interdict and excommunication only scared Christians living under the control of the local bishop. Non-Christians and Christian raiders who came from other places were unaffected. There are many records of people making treaties but few records of them being renewed. The only way to enforce these treaties was to send an army after those who broke them and that kind of response was an example of what the Peace of God was created to prevent.<sup>61</sup>

War would be ended by the arrival of heavenly Jerusalem. That was why the name Jerusalem summed up the history of salvation.<sup>62</sup> People valued heavenly Jerusalem for the promise of peace. Nothing ungodly could live there or happen there.<sup>63</sup>

For I am about to create new heavens and a new earth; the former things shall not be remembered or come to mind. But be glad and rejoice forever in what I am creating; for I am about to create Jerusalem as a joy, and its people as a delight.<sup>64</sup>

Heavenly Jerusalem was the highest vision of peace.<sup>65</sup> This was because people would live with God.<sup>66</sup>

Rejoice greatly, O daughter Zion! Shout aloud, O daughter of Jerusalem! Lo, your king comes to you; triumphant and victorious is he, humble and riding on a donkey, on a colt, the foal of a donkey. He will cut off the chariot from Ephraim and the war-horse from Jerusalem; and the battle bow shall be cut off, and he shall command peace to the nations; his

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<sup>61</sup> Cowdrey, "The Peace and Truce of God in the Eleventh Century," 53-54.

<sup>62</sup> Davies, *The Gospel and the Land*, 142.

<sup>63</sup> Romans 11:26 (New Oxford Annotated).

<sup>64</sup> Isaiah 65: 17-18 (New Oxford Annotated).

<sup>65</sup> Renna, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought*, 89.

<sup>66</sup> Renna, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought*, 106.

dominion shall be from sea to sea, and from the River to the ends of the earth. As for you also, because of the blood of my covenant with you, I will set your prisoners free from the waterless pit. Return to your stronghold O prisoners of hope; today I declare that I will restore to you double. For I have bent Judah as my bow; I have made Ephraim its arrow. I will arouse your sons, O Zion, against your sons, O Greece, and wield you like a warrior's sword. Then the Lord will appear over them, and his arrow go forth like lightning; the Lord God will sound the trumpet and march forth in the whirlwinds of the south. The Lord of hosts will protect them, and they shall devour and tread down the slingers; they shall drink their blood like wine, and be full like a bowl, drenched like the corners of the altar. On that day the Lord their God will save them for they are the flock of his people; for like the jewels of a crown they shall shine on his land.<sup>67</sup>

These verses were understood by Christianity to describe the second coming of Christ.

Christ's coming would begin the end of the world. He would do three things: win a war against all evil people, command men to live in peace, and reward the good with salvation. This would mark the end of the mortal world and the beginning of heaven: a perfected city with buildings that never wore out, foundations that never cracked and walls that never fell down or had to be repaired. Everything in heavenly Jerusalem would be equal and it would be luxurious. After God purified the city, multitudes would come there. It would be a place of salvation that would last for eternity.<sup>68</sup>

Heavenly Jerusalem was superior to its earthly counterpart partially because it allowed only the most righteous people. These people would make Jerusalem the new heaven, the new earth and a place of rejoicing. Christ set the example for Christian behavior. He lived a perfect life and then returned to heaven. Good Christians lived

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<sup>67</sup> Zech. 9:9-16 (New Oxford Annotated).

<sup>68</sup> Davies, *The Gospel and the Land*, 134-135.

together in fellowship with God after they died.<sup>69</sup> Bad Christians or non-Christians went to hell. There would be no villains, bandits or Vikings. People looked forward to a place of comfort and safety. “And the earth, common to all, not parted out with walls or fences, shall then bring forth of her own accord much fruit, and life and wealth shall be common and undistributed. For there shall be no poor man, not rich, not tyrant, nor slave, none great nor small any longer, no kings, no princes; but all men shall be together in common.”<sup>70</sup> The heavenly Jerusalem was both heaven and the promised reward for having faith in this life.<sup>71</sup>

God would keep heavenly Jerusalem peaceful by enforcing the laws himself.

Isaiah said:

In days to come the mountain of the Lord’s house shall be established as the highest of the mountains, and shall be raised above the hills; all the nations shall stream to it. Many peoples shall come and say, “Come let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; that he may teach us his ways and that we may walk in his paths.” For out of Zion shall go forth instruction, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. He shall judge between the nations, and shall arbitrate for many peoples; they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.<sup>72</sup>

God was all knowing and he would judge the world from Jerusalem. His arbitration would end the need for war because he would never be wrong.

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<sup>69</sup> Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, 3-4.

<sup>70</sup> ‘*Apocalypse of Peter, Second Book of the Sibylline Oracles, 190-338*,’ in *The Apocryphal New Testament*, translated by Montague Rhodes James (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 524.

<sup>71</sup> Renna, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought*, 122.

<sup>72</sup> Isaiah 2:1-4 (New Oxford Annotated).

Early Christians believed that people went to heaven or to hell. Hell was found in the center of the earth. It had originally been built for Lucifer and his angels. St Augustine said that men were condemned to hell by original sin. They could only be redeemed by baptism.<sup>73</sup> There were stories about people being redeemed from hell by the prayers of others. One legend said that Emperor Trajan was redeemed by Pope Gregory I, another said that Saint Odilia redeemed her father. The early church rejected these stories.<sup>74</sup> One of the written accounts of Christian Hell came from the Apocalypse of St. Paul. In his letter to the Corinthians Paul said that someone he knew had visited heaven and knew what would happen to man after they died. The Apocalypse of St. Paul claimed to be an account of the vision. The book was not included in the Bible because the authorship was uncertain. The images found in the story were common through out the Middle Ages. The wicked would be dragged out of their bodies and condemned to outer darkness. People in Hell would be hung by their ears from fiery trees or eaten by monsters. Adulterous women would be hung by their hair over a boiling mire or a river of fire. Other sinners would have hot irons used on their eyes or be bitten by animals.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, 895.

<sup>74</sup> Carl Lindhal, et. al. editor, *Medieval Folklore: A Guide to Myths, Legends, Tales, Beliefs, and Customs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 196-197.

<sup>75</sup> Carol Zaleski, *Otherworld Journeys: Accounts of Near-Death Experience in Medieval and Modern Times* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 28-32; *The Apocryphal New Testament*, translated by Montague Rhodes James (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 504-505, 525; 'Apocalypse of St. Peter', in *The Apocryphal New Testament*, translated by Montague Rhodes James (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 509; 'Apocalypse of the Virgin,' in *The Apocryphal New Testament*, translated by Montague Rhodes James (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 563-564; 'Apocalypse of St. Paul,' 542, 545.

This grim view was alleviated by the writings of Gregory the Great in the sixth century. Gregory collected accounts of deathbed visions and eyewitness accounts of the other world. He concluded that people would receive punishment for their sins and that this punishment could be shortened by having the living say masses and by performing good works on behalf of the dead. People who gave away their property and went to live in monasteries and did penances could earn forgiveness for their own sins and help others lessen their punishment.<sup>76</sup> People came to believe in purgatory, a place between heaven and hell where people went to be purged of their sins. The doctrine was not officially accepted by the church until 1274 but the belief was common long before that.<sup>77</sup>

The story of a monk named Walchelin shows the development of purgatory. In 1091 Walchelin was traveling back home from the house of sick parishioner when he heard a large group of travelers coming up behind him. He was not sure if they were friendly or if they were thieves so he went to hide. He was stopped by a large man carrying a mace who said, "Stand; go no further." The two men stood and watched the travelers go by. First there was a group of people carrying farm animals and furnishings and household goods across their shoulders. They were complaining bitterly about the weight and urging each other to hurry. Walchelin recognized some of them as neighbors of his who had recently died. After them came a group of people carrying biers. One of the biers held a daemon who was using red hot spurs on a man's back and loins. Walchelin recognized the man as a murderer who had died without completing his penance. After them came a group of women riding horses. The saddles were studded

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<sup>76</sup> Zaleski, *Otherworld Journeys*, 28-32.

<sup>77</sup> Lindhal, *Medieval Folklore*, 333.

with hot nails. The women were buffeted by the wind. It would pick them up and then drop them back onto the nails. This was punishment for lewd behavior in life. Walchelin believed he had seen purgatory.<sup>78</sup> The images were similar to visions of Hell but purgatory was temporary and Hell was permanent. Stories like this were told to convince people to repent.

Clerics wanted people to be enthusiastic about repenting and even more enthusiastic about obeying church doctrines in the first place. Around the year 1000 the church began a series of reforms designed to facilitate lay involvement in church affairs and stimulate interest in obeying religious doctrines. The new orders of monks that embraced these reforms took an interest in the affairs of the aristocracy. They showed how people, especially nobles, could get into heaven. In turn many nobles gave financial support to these monks. The reformed doctrine that monasticism was not the only way to heaven encouraged laymen to court God's favor by helping the Pope and the church.

The reforming clergy were very involved in the world. They believed that the laity had a purpose in the religious hierarchy and work to do in the church. They also taught that monasticism was not the only way to heaven; it was just the best way of pleasing God.<sup>79</sup> This gave laymen a reason to be interested in fulfilling commandments and obeying policies. They could earn heaven through their own actions while alive instead of having family pay for prayers after they were dead. The aristocracy usually earned salvation through donations and pilgrimage.

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<sup>78</sup> "The Young Priest Walchelin's Purgatorial Vision," in *Medieval Popular Religion 1000-1500*, edited by John Shinnors (Broadview Press: Ontario, Canada, 1997) 223-224.

<sup>79</sup> Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, 70.

Two examples of reformed religious houses were the Cluniacs and the Cistercians. The first Cluniac monastery was founded by Duke William of Aquitaine. The charter endowing the monastery with land contained the following principle: God gives certain men money so these men can use this money to save their souls. William gave the town of Cluny to Saint Peter and Saint Paul. Since they were dead the town would be administered by the Cluniac monks. The gift of the town also included the court, manor, church, mills, chapels, serfs, vines, fields, meadows, woods, waters, mills in the town and full rights to the incomes, revenues, and food produced by the town. William left instructions that no one was to interfere with the monks because they answered only to the pope.<sup>80</sup> This gave the monks a great deal of freedom and power.

The Cluniacs had lots of influence with the nobility.<sup>81</sup> The *Life of St Gerald of Aurillac* was written by Odo of Cluny to prove that a layman could lead a holy life. St. Gerald only fought with reversed weapons, he never wounded anyone, and he won his battles by miracles. God liked him because he was ascetic, so God protected him. Gerald only fought in battles that God would approve of because he was defending the weak and needy.<sup>82</sup> Nobles liked this story because it offered them a role model whose activities were similar to their own. One prevalent result of church reform was the nobility saw religious warfare as a way of performing penance and getting into heaven.

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<sup>80</sup> "Foundation Charter of Cluny, 910," Medieval Sourcebook, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/chart-cluny/html>.

<sup>81</sup> Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, 70.

<sup>82</sup> Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, 87-8; "Odo of Cluny, *The Life of Saint Gerald of Aurillac*," in *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints Lives from the Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Thomas F.X. Noble and Thomas Head (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 323-324.

The Cistercian monks were founded at Molesme in 1075.<sup>83</sup> A large group of cousins and neighbors, mostly lower nobility, gave them the property that started their monastery.<sup>84</sup> When Lord Ascelin left on the First Crusade he sold his estate at Nitry to the monks at Molesme for 27 pounds.<sup>85</sup> During the twelfth century it became common for people to mortgage property to the monks as a way to get some quick cash and absolution of some of their sins. This benefited both parties. The monks got land and revenue and the nobles got a cash infusion. Lord Narjod and his brother gave the monks two-thirds of their property for their souls. When Lord Narjod left for Jerusalem he mortgaged the remaining third to them.<sup>86</sup>

The spread of reformed monasticism depended on the goodwill and assistance of the local nobility.<sup>87</sup> Nobles gave the clergy members gifts and land. Nobles often gave small gifts when they entered the church, when they were dying, before they left on a long trip, and at other major turning points in their lives.<sup>88</sup> Giving the gifts was not just a matter of one man or woman deciding to give something away. Other members of the family, especially direct heirs, had the right to protest the giving of the gift and might try to take it back. Monks frequently made a point of getting formal agreement from all potential heirs when they accepted a gift. Gui of Theirs confirmed his predecessors' gifts

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<sup>83</sup> Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980-1198* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 116.

<sup>84</sup> Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 117.

<sup>85</sup> Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 221.

<sup>86</sup> Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 222.

<sup>87</sup> Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 23.

<sup>88</sup> Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 288.

before leaving on crusade.<sup>89</sup> One scribe waited for a man's two sons to come home from playing so he could get their approval of a gift. Another scribe recorded that he got the approval of the daughter of the house but noted she had not married yet and the husband might contest the gift.<sup>90</sup> Types and sizes of gift varied. Richard II of Normandy gave 100 lbs of gold, Aldred of Worcester gave a gold chalice, one priory received a gold besant each year from a donor. Wills and endowments usually included bequests to churches.<sup>91</sup> The monks of Burgundy received a large number of gifts between 1095 and 1101. It can be assumed they were from crusaders or their families.<sup>92</sup> People who died in the holy land gave gifts to the local orders or left instructions for their families to give gifts to certain monasteries.<sup>93</sup> Nobles established abbeys to help save their own souls or to save family members' souls.<sup>94</sup> Adalbert of Metz started a community dedicated to the cross in 1033. His family remained active donors to that community.<sup>95</sup> All of these gifts were given to help the givers purge sins from their souls.

Pilgrimage was another popular method for purging sins. A pilgrimage was a trip to a religious shrine to worship a saint. Pilgrimage had many possible goals: paying

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<sup>89</sup> Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 107.

<sup>90</sup> Stephen D. White, *Custom, Kinship and Gifts to Saints: The Laudatio Parentum in Western France, 1050-1150* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 44; "Anglo-Saxon Wills," in *Women's Lives in Medieval Europe*, edited by Emile Amt (New York: Routledge, 1993), 130-136.

<sup>91</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 32.

<sup>92</sup> Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 197.

<sup>93</sup> Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 199.

<sup>94</sup> White, *Custom, Kinship and Gifts to Saints*, 121-122.

<sup>95</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 32.

homage, requesting favors, fulfilling a vow, or seeking pardon for sins.<sup>96</sup> Enduring trials was a source of pride for medieval Christians. If they did not think the situation was hard enough people deliberately made things worse. A soldier who killed a companion was sent to Jerusalem with the man's body strapped to his back.<sup>97</sup> Pilgrimage was encouraged as a form of lay piety.<sup>98</sup> The tradition of pilgrimage created the idea that God approved of long, arduous journeys. One of the reasons pilgrimage increased in the tenth and eleventh centuries was that it was encouraged by Cluniac monks who built hostels for pilgrims on the roads.<sup>99</sup> Many people founded religious houses after returning from pilgrimage. The church at Jaligny was founded by a pilgrim called Hector in 1036. The abbey of Beaulieu and the priory of Languais were both founded by Fulk of Anjou, a frequent pilgrim.<sup>100</sup>

The reforms also created a tradition of knightly service to God by creating a doctrinal justification for wars fought with papal approval. The bishop of Rome, also called the Pope, claimed to be Saint Peter's successor. This claim was enhanced by the Pope's physical control over Rome and central Italy after 476. In the eighth century popes made alliances with Frankish rulers to increase their influence. Around this time the Donation of Constantine was forged. The document claimed that Constantine had given his empire to Pope Sylvester. Sylvester gave temporal control of the empire back to

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<sup>96</sup> Lindahl, *Medieval Folklore*, 321.

<sup>97</sup> Benedicata Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 124.

<sup>98</sup> Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, 304.

<sup>99</sup> James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusaders* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 9.

<sup>100</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 33.

Constantine but remained the spiritual ruler of the Roman Empire. This gave his successors the right to rule the Christian church. Papal power was further enhanced in 800 C.E. by an alliance with Charlemagne which gave the pope control of Lombardy, Gascony, Barvaria and Saxony. After 1000 C.E. the reformers made efforts to move all aspects of church life, including the appointment of clerics and the control of church lands, directly under the control of the pope. Before this, church lands and clerical appointments had always been made by local leaders or with the approval of local leaders.<sup>101</sup> There was a considerable lay movement in support of papal policies, which stimulated an interest in religious doctrines.<sup>102</sup> In the eleventh century the pope began to be widely seen as God's representative on earth. In that guise the popes began to calling on people to fight in Gods' name.

Lay people began taking oaths to defend the papacy. Oath-taking created a tradition of religious devotion expressed through knightly duties. The practice of oath taking may have begun with Pope Alexander II. People took a wide range of oaths. Some were papal vassals. Others took oaths to help with specific projects. Others agreed to enforce church reforms in their lands. Gregory called these oath takers the *fideles beati Petri* (the faithful of the blessed Peter). These oath takers gradually turned into an organized group around 1080.<sup>103</sup> This tradition of papal knights helped confirm the right of the popes to use force to achieve their goals.<sup>104</sup> This idea was also confirmed by a

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<sup>101</sup> Tyerman, *God's War*, 4-7.

<sup>102</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 44.

<sup>103</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 44.

<sup>104</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 51.

series of papal decrees that granted salvation to soldiers who died fighting in religious wars. Around 850, Leo IV granted forgiveness to those who died in battle with the heathen.<sup>105</sup> John VIII granted the same indulgence in 878.<sup>106</sup> Gregory VII tried to call a crusade to defend Christians in Jerusalem in 1074 but the project died due to lack of response.<sup>107</sup> These decrees set the stage for the First Crusade by providing a precedent for wars against God's enemies - the heathen.<sup>108</sup>

The other branch of the lay reform movement was comprised of a group of religious scholars that formed around Mathilda of Tuscany around 1080. She was a very rich noble woman who collected scholars similar to an early version of a salon. The group included Anslem of Lucca, John of Mantua, and Bonizo of Sutri. They studied church doctrine and created a series of theories that confirmed the pope's right to use war to achieve God's goals. These scholars concentrated on studying St. Augustine and his definition of holy war. They came to two conclusions: the Church could legitimately summon knights to fight in its defense and people could earn martyrdom from death in battle. This made religious warfare acceptable because the knights were doing God's will.<sup>109</sup> Increased lay involvement in church affairs created two important movements, the tradition of using warfare to achieve God's will and the doctrinal theories that made

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<sup>105</sup> "Leo IV (847-855): Forgiveness of Sins for Those Who Die in Battle With the Heathen," Medieval Sourcebook, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/leo4-ind850.html>.

<sup>106</sup> "Pope John VIII: Indulgence for Fighting the Heathen, 878," Medieval Sourcebook, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/john2-ind878.html>.

<sup>107</sup> "Gregory VII: Call for a 'Crusade', 1074," Medieval Sourcebook, <http://fordham.edu/halsall/source/g7-cde1078.html>.

<sup>108</sup> Whoever they happened to be.

<sup>109</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 46-47. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 10.

that tradition valid. The First Crusade would be based on the idea that religious warfare erased sins.

The Cluniac monks were considered to be very aggressive. They have been credited with organizing the Spanish Reconquest. People saw the Cluniacs as a pro-war group. A conservative archbishop, Adalbero of Laon, wrote a satire about the Cluniac support of warfare as a solution to problems. In it King Odilo of Cluny takes his monks to fight the Muslims. He fights for three days, loses and calls for another war. This emphasis on warfare explains the monk's popularity with the nobility. Some scholars, like Carl Erdmann, think the knightly orders were a result of Cluniac reform.<sup>110</sup> The Cluniacs involvement with the world and their championing of alternatives to monastic life popularized the idea of religious warfare. Knights could win God's favor by using skills they spent most their lives learning.

Christians valued heavenly Jerusalem as an escape from the violence and discomfort of the world and as an escape from hell. They spent their lives fighting wars and in constant fear of raiders or invaders. They lived tightly packed together in small houses with few, if any, comforts. Most of them worked all day to make enough to survive. After they died they would go to heavenly Jerusalem which was a large city with beautiful and luxurious buildings. God would control the city personally and he would not allow any fighting. The only problem was that people who sinned could not go to heaven. Christians feared Hell as much as they longed for heaven. They envisioned hell as a place of torment. Their fears were slightly relieved by the belief in purgatory, a place

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<sup>110</sup> Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, 68-70.

of temporary punishment. Originally it was believed that only monks and nuns lived good enough lives to avoid hell. Lay people would go to purgatory and stay there until their sins were purged or the monks and nuns prayed them out of purgatory. In 1000 C.E. the church began to support the idea that lay people and even people who belonged to the military elite could also go to heaven. The movement's emphasis on lay involvement made the nobility more active in church affairs. People were encouraged to go on pilgrimages, give land or money to the church or do services for God as a way of absolving their sins and lessening their time in purgatory. These scholars popularized religious doctrines that justified fighting wars on God's behalf. Various popes promised to absolve sins in return for knightly service. These traditions helped create the First Crusade.

## Chapter 2: Earthly Jerusalem

The early Christian view of Jerusalem contained a paradox. Early Christians believed that there were two Jerusalems, one in heaven and one on earth. The city found on earth was despised as the site of Christ's murder. It was the city of the Jews who killed Christ, thus the city was both sacred and profane. To Christians the crucifixion was the greatest crime ever committed but Christ had also been resurrected in Jerusalem; his empty tomb was still in the city as proof.<sup>111</sup> That was the greatest gift ever given. In early Christian theology Jerusalem was the city of the Jews and as such it was cursed, but the increased interest in relics and holy places after the conversion of the Emperor Constantine improved opinions of the physical city by tying it more firmly to heaven and God. Jerusalem became the physical center of Christianity because the earthly city became connected to heaven. That was why the Crusaders wanted the city. They hoped to use it to enter heaven.

Early Christians thought that Christ had cursed earthly Jerusalem because in Luke 19: 41-44 he said:

If you, even you, had only recognized on this day the things that make for peace! But now they are hidden from your eyes. Indeed, the days will come upon you, when your enemies will set up ramparts around you and hem you in on every side. They will crush you to the ground, you and your children within you, and they will not leave one stone upon another; because you did not recognize the time of your visitation from God.<sup>112</sup>

The Jews were cursed for not believing Christ and for killing him. Early and medieval Christians called Christ's death a murder. Christ was central to Christian belief and his

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<sup>111</sup> Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, 2.

<sup>112</sup> Luke 19: 42-44 (New Oxford Annotated).

execution was a source of outrage to Christians. The Jews had murdered their God and tried to end the teaching of their God's religion. Early Christians held that the prophecy was fulfilled almost forty years after Christ's death when Roman soldiers destroyed the city. In 66 C.E. riots between Jews and Syrians in Jerusalem spun out of control. The governor of Palestine, Gessius Florus, asked the Syrian governor Cestius Gallus for help. Governor Cestius' troops were defeated by Jewish forces. Rome sent an army. The soldiers drove out all the inhabitants and demolished every building in the city, concluding with the Temple in 70 C.E. Early Christians believed that God allowed this destruction to punish the Jews for their rejection of Christ.<sup>113</sup> The best way for God to punish the Jews was to take away their holy city and their temple. This was also a way to signal that God's covenant with the Jews had ended. According to early Christians, Christ's curse on Jerusalem continued even after the destruction of the city. In 118 Hadrian rebuilt the city and named it Aelia Capitolina. Hadrian, who was a pagan, knew very little about Jerusalem's history. He rebuilt the city to give the soldiers camped there a more comfortable place to live. It was a modern Roman city, named after Hadrian and dedicated to the patron Gods of Rome: Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. There was also a temple to Aphrodite on Golgotha. Jerusalem was no longer a Jewish city. The name was gone. So was the temple. The land was dedicated to pagan gods.<sup>114</sup> This was taken as a further sign that the Jews were out of God's favor. He allowed what was left of their heritage to be eradicated. Thus early Christians had few personal attachments to earthly

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<sup>113</sup> Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 150-153.

<sup>114</sup> Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 165.

Jerusalem in 118. The city was referred to as cursed soil by Christians even after Hadrian rebuilt the city.<sup>115</sup>

As Rome became a Christian empire people began to look through the remains of the old Jerusalem to make contact with the historical roots of their faith.<sup>116</sup> Constantine converted to Christianity at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312. Although he was not baptized until right before his death Constantine legalized the religion and dedicated the rest of his life to making the religion respectable.<sup>117</sup> In 325 C.E. Emperor Constantine called all the bishops of the church to a council at Nicea. He wanted to standardize the church's teachings. After that task was finished the bishops voted on a few other issues. They agreed that the bishop of Jerusalem should be next in importance to the bishop of Rome. Constantine began building Christian churches throughout the Roman Empire. In 327 Makarios, the Bishop of Aelia, was given permission to excavate the Tomb of Christ. He believed it was under the temple of Aphrodite on Golgotha. Two years later they found an empty rock tomb. Emperor Constantine ordered the rock around the tomb cleared and a shrine built around it. That building became the Holy Sepulcher.<sup>118</sup>

Starting about 327 C.E., when Constantine began to build the Holy Sepulcher, opinions about Jerusalem began to change. Eusebius, Constantine's biographer and a

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<sup>115</sup> Bredero, *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages*, 89; F.E. Peters, ed., *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 131; 'Letter of Barnabas,' in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 124.

<sup>116</sup> Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 179-181.

<sup>117</sup> Antony Kamm, *The Romans: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2003), 194.

<sup>118</sup> Peters, *Jerusalem*, 131; Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 179.

bishop, continued to call the city Aelia Capitolina. He did not consider most of the city sacred. It was impious and corrupt and none should think otherwise. Only the tomb and the new churches built around the city were holy. Eusebius called that part of the city Jerusalem. Actually he called it the New Jerusalem because it was built over the old and it was the improved version of the city.<sup>119</sup> Christ's tomb was holy but not the city or the land. The tomb had nothing to do with the rest of the city. In contrast to Eusebius, Cyril, one of the early bishops of Jerusalem, argued that Jerusalem was the holiest of cities because Christ died there. Cyril called Jerusalem the City of God. Unlike many theologians Cyril's arguments were straightforward and unambiguous. This made his ideas popular with lay people and these ideas spread easily.<sup>120</sup>

The rise of Jerusalem's status coincided with the increasing popularity of monastic life. Many ascetics came to Jerusalem and settled. These people were mostly educated and wealthy. They came to see the historical roots of their religion. It became fashionable for people, especially women, to dedicate their lives to God. Examples include a Roman woman named Paula, who traveled to Jerusalem with her daughter Eustochium in 385 C.E.<sup>121</sup> A nun named Egeria wrote copious letters about the holy places to her fellow nuns in Europe.<sup>122</sup> These visitors built monasteries and nunneries.

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<sup>119</sup> "Eusebius," in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 132-133.

<sup>120</sup> Renna, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought*, 13-16.

<sup>121</sup> Jerome, *The Select Letters of St. Jerome*, translated by F.A. Wright (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 125.

<sup>122</sup> Peters, *Jerusalem*, 147-150.

The increased presence of monks and nuns enhanced Jerusalem's reputation. Saint Jerome, a popular scholar known for translating the Bible into Latin and for his commentaries on Biblical books, moved to Bethlehem in 385.<sup>123</sup> He and his traveling companion toured the holy sites in Palestine and then settled in Bethlehem where they founded a monastery and a nunnery.<sup>124</sup> Jerome wrote letters to a wide number of companions and he urged many of them to visit or move to Jerusalem.<sup>125</sup> Jerome's undertaking was an example of the earliest importance attached to Jerusalem, the chance to see where Christ lived. Jerome once described himself as '...a lover of the inn at Bethlehem and the Lord's stable where the Virgin in childbirth brought forth an infant God...'<sup>126</sup> By 400, there were two hundred monasteries in Jerusalem that took in pilgrims.<sup>127</sup> When Jerusalem was made a patriarchal see in 451 C.E. the city was becoming known as the home of holy men and women.<sup>128</sup>

The new communities of monks and nuns gave the city sanctity. Monasteries were dedicated to the service of God. Jerusalem was a permanent monastery and, like other monastic institutions, holy. Tales about these religious communities spread and improved Christian opinions of Jerusalem. Jerusalem was purified by the presence of past holy men and women, like John the Baptist and Christ, and the presence of current holy

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<sup>123</sup> Jerome, *The Select Letters of St. Jerome*, 125.

<sup>124</sup> J.N.D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings and Controversies* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1975), 119-121.

<sup>125</sup> Kelly, *Jerome*, 194.

<sup>126</sup> Jerome, *The Select Letters of St. Jerome*, 313.

<sup>127</sup> John Ure, *Pilgrimages: The Great Adventure of the Middle Ages* (New York: Carroll & Graft Publishers, 2006), 18.

<sup>128</sup> Peters, *Jerusalem*, 151-153.

women and men like Jerome. Monks came to Jerusalem to see and live near famous biblical sites. They thought these places were spiritually rewarding.<sup>129</sup> The presence of holy men and women made the city hallowed ground and living in the sacred land made the saintly people holier.<sup>130</sup> Over time the popular opinion of Jerusalem had thus changed. Heavenly Jerusalem remained the more important of the two cities. Earthly Jerusalem went from being cursed ground to being hallowed ground. Christians began to feel the need to root themselves somewhere. They wanted a home in the physical world. They used Jerusalem because of its history.<sup>131</sup>

Heavenly Jerusalem was the Christian promised land, the place God gave to his loyal servants. Medieval Christians saw themselves as God's heirs because the Jews rejected Christ, therefore, according to tradition, God rejected the Jews. Everything God promised the Jews, including the promised land, went to the Christians. The Apostle Paul used the allegory of Sarah and Hagar to show Christians that they no longer had to obey Jewish law. God promised Abraham that his descendants would outnumber the stars. Sarah had no children. She gave her slave Hagar to Abraham. Hagar bore a son named Ishmael. God told Hagar that Ishmael would be a 'wild man' and that 'everyone's hand will be against him.' Several years later God promised Abraham that Sarah would have a son of her own. This son's descendants would form and rule a new nation. Sarah had a son named Isaac. Sarah insisted that Hagar and Ishmael be thrown out because she did

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<sup>129</sup> Renna, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought*, 13-16.

<sup>130</sup> Renna, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought*, 22.

<sup>131</sup> Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 183-184.

not want Ishmael to be a joint heir with Isaac.<sup>132</sup> Paul called the Jews the children of Hagar the slave. He called the Christians the children of Sarah the free woman. The children of Hagar were like the earthly Jerusalem, stuck on earth because of their unbelief. The children of Sarah were like the heavenly Jerusalem. They were part of God's kingdom and eligible for heaven when they died.<sup>133</sup> People did not need to be Jewish to go to heaven, they needed to be Christian.

Being someone's heir in the early Middle Ages almost always meant inheriting land. Land was wealth. Kings gave it to their armies in exchange for service. Nobles paid the peasants who farmed their land by giving each peasant family their own small piece of land. The reason peasants paid tithes to fish streams or use the ovens was because the local lord owned the land the stream or oven was on. That was why so many wars were fought over land. It was also why monasteries went to so much trouble to get the entire family's agreement to any gift of land. Parts of the Bible called Jerusalem God's home. Scriptures that describe Jerusalem as God's home usually use the name Zion, as in Psalms 9:11 "Sing praises to the Lord who dwells in Zion."<sup>134</sup> These verses were especially important to the medieval mind because they were related to inheritance. Saint Augustine believed that Jerusalem was a Christian inheritance. Augustine explained that, since Abraham was the father of all nations, non-Jews could be included in God's promises to Abraham. God's promises contained the condition that the recipients must

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<sup>132</sup> Gen. 15:1-6, 17:15-16, 17:15-16, 21:1-13 (New Oxford Annotated).

<sup>133</sup> Gal. 4: 22-31 (New Oxford Annotated); W.D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 197.

<sup>134</sup> Psalms 9:11 (New Oxford Annotated).

obey him. The promised land went to Abraham's spiritual descendants.<sup>135</sup> God's promises to Abraham would be fulfilled with the second coming of Jesus Christ and the creation of the heavenly Jerusalem.<sup>136</sup> Since the Jews rejected Christ they were among the adversaries of God who arrogantly tried to live by their own laws instead of God's laws.<sup>137</sup> Therefore Jerusalem belonged to the Christians.<sup>138</sup> Augustine's theories made Jerusalem a Christian inheritance.

Legends told about the Emperor Charlemagne were another reason why medieval Christians saw themselves as the rightful owners of Jerusalem. Charlemagne's empire became the model for the ideal Christian kingdom. In 751 Pepin the Short, the chief official of the Merovingian king, wrote to Pope Zacharias to ask if he could replace his powerless master as king. Zacharias needed help fighting a war with the Byzantines. He gave Pepin his blessing and Pepin helped him with his war.<sup>139</sup> Pepin's son Charlemagne went on to consolidate and enlarge his father's kingdom, conquering the Lombards in northern Italy and the Bavarians and the Saxons to the east of Italy. He centralized the government by creating a series of semi-independent leaders who answered to him. He insisted that all of them enforce his laws. He regularly sent men to inspect his realm and

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<sup>135</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, 670, 738.

<sup>136</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, 670.

<sup>137</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, 718.

<sup>138</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, 729.

<sup>139</sup> C. Warren Hollister, et. al., ed., *Medieval Europe: A Short Sourcebook* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1975), 70; Bishop, *The Middle Ages*, 23.

be sure that the laws were properly enforced.<sup>140</sup> Charlemagne was violently Christian. He forced all of his subjects to be Christian. He considered it part of his job to defend the Church against its enemies. His legal code imposed the death penalty for eating meat on Friday, breaking the Lent fast and refusing baptism.<sup>141</sup>

When Charlemagne died in 814 his empire went to his son, Louis the Pious. After Louis died the kingdom was divided among his sons, none of whom managed to keep up Charlemagne's high standards of rule.<sup>142</sup> The collapse of the Carolingian empire left the West destabilized. Charlemagne's empire was seen as the Western version of the Roman Empire, a large civilization with education, strong religious roots and a strong legal system. Charlemagne was a source of stability in the West. His empire was revered as the goal of most Western rulers; a strong, large territory ruled by one man. Charlemagne's death left a power vacuum that every leader tried to fill and left a lot of people looking for stability.

Charlemagne had created a connection between Jerusalem and the West when he used the city as propaganda. Charlemagne helped cement his realm by comparing it to the ancient kingdom of Israel, especially Jerusalem. Since Jerusalem was the center of the world and the center of Christianity it gave stability and glory to Charlemagne's empire. Charlemagne's biographers compared him to the Old Testament heroes. He fought like

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<sup>140</sup> "The General Capitulary for the Missi," in *Medieval Europe: A Short Sourcebook* edited by C. Warren Hollister, et. al., 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc, 1982), 80-81; Bishop, *The Middle Ages*, 23, 26.

<sup>141</sup>"Charlemagne's Letter to Pope Leo III, 796," in *Medieval Europe: A Short Sourcebook*, edited by C. Warren Hollister et. al., 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975), 77-78; Bishop, *The Middle Ages*, 23, 27.

<sup>142</sup> Bishop, *The Middle Ages*, 27-28.

Joshua, made laws like Moses, was as saintly as David and as great a builder as Solomon. This encouraged his subjects to see themselves as the chosen people like the Jews.<sup>143</sup> This gave glory to Charlemagne by making him comparable to great biblical heroes and it gave glory to his people by showing that Charlemagne had God's approval. Charlemagne's capital was called the New Jerusalem.<sup>144</sup> His throne was modeled on Solomon's. Westerners looked to Jerusalem for balance and stability.<sup>145</sup>

Charlemagne also created a special relationship with Jerusalem by sending alms to the poor there and offerings to the Holy Sepulcher. Some historians say that the patriarch of Jerusalem sent a delegation to Charlemagne's coronation. Legend claimed that, before his death, Charlemagne had gone to Jerusalem on pilgrimage and brought back a piece of the Cross.<sup>146</sup> (Everyone seems to have brought back a piece of the Cross.) Charlemagne created a connection between the West and Jerusalem that stuck. He gained stability through a connection to heaven and the patronage of God and gave the West a claim to the holiest place on earth. The crusaders used legends about Charlemagne to make earthly Jerusalem their inheritance. That was part of their justification for taking the city.

When Charlemagne was crowned the Roman Emperor in 800 C.E. he needed important allies. Byzantium refused to recognize him. They were horrified at the idea of a barbarian being made Emperor of Rome. So Charlemagne made an alliance with Harun

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<sup>143</sup> Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 52.

<sup>144</sup> Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 108-109.

<sup>145</sup> "Einhard," *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, translated by Lewis G. M. Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), 70.

<sup>146</sup> Renna, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought*, 108-109.

al-Rashid, the ruler of Egypt. Al-Rashid was also the ruler of Jerusalem. Charlemagne and the Caliph exchanged gifts. The Caliph allowed Charlemagne to build a hospice, a library and a pilgrim retreat in Jerusalem. The patriarch of Jerusalem sent Charlemagne relics and the keys to the Holy Sepulcher. Charlemagne claimed his empire was rooted in the center of the earth and heaven.<sup>147</sup> He was seen as the new Roman emperor. Legend claimed that Charlemagne was given control of the Holy Sepulcher by the patriarch.<sup>148</sup> Some said that he was given control of Jerusalem with the Caliph ruling as his agent. The Caliph was so impressed with Charlemagne that he gave the city to him.<sup>149</sup> The crusaders used this to justify their claim to Jerusalem<sup>150</sup> Since Charlemagne's kingdom was divided into three parts after he died, most European rulers claimed to be descended from Charlemagne, and these rulers could claim Jerusalem as part of their inheritance. Charlemagne gave the West a physical tie to heaven.

As early medieval Christians developed their own mythology about Jerusalem they adapted other Jewish beliefs for their purposes. The Jews believed that the city was the center of the earth. The scriptures do not say where Adam was buried but Jewish tradition placed his grave on Golgotha. When Abraham went to sacrifice Isaac he went to Golgotha to do it. Most of Christian history was borrowed from Jewish history because so many Christian events took place in Jerusalem. The city had been important to both Solomon and David, the land it was built on was given to Abraham by God. The

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<sup>147</sup> Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 251-252.

<sup>148</sup> "Einhard," 70.

<sup>149</sup> "Notker," *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, translated by Lewis G. M. Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), 148.

<sup>150</sup> Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 252.

Christian holy places began to inspire the same reverence for Christians that the Temple held for the Jews.<sup>151</sup>

Early medieval Christians also adopted the Jewish idea that Jerusalem was the center of the world. This idea was found in several pilgrims descriptions of the city. One pilgrim from Scotland who visited in 680 C.E. described a tall pillar in the center of Jerusalem where a young man returned to life after the cross was placed on his body. The pillar cast no shadow at noon on the summer solstice. These facts were seen as confirmation that Christ's death made Jerusalem the center of the world.<sup>152</sup> No one explained what a miracle caused by the cross, a pillar with no shadow at noon on a certain day and the center of the world had in common or how they proved Jerusalem was the center of the world. The idea may have come from the belief that God favored Jerusalem above everywhere else. God's favorite place must be the center of the world. The city's history as a Jewish city began to work in its favor. Jerusalem was central to God's care of his people in Biblical times so it must still be central to God's care of the Christians. Its primary position was shown by the concern of Biblical characters for the city and confirmed by the life and death of Christ. Since the key events of sacred history took place in Jerusalem the city was the head of all churches and the mother of all Christians and therefore the center of the world - its navel. It was also the focus of the events of the Apocalypse and the Second Coming.<sup>153</sup> Jerusalem was the site of all important events. The city was valued as a place to see. This idea influenced all the other

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<sup>151</sup> Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 183; Gen 5:5, 22:1-19 (New Oxford Annotated).

<sup>152</sup> Bredero, *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages*, 96-99.

<sup>153</sup> Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, 1-2.

new theories about Jerusalem. All things came from God because God was the center of the universe. Jerusalem was the center of the world and all of God's ideas and plans started at Jerusalem.

From this belief in the centrality of Jerusalem developed an idea that all Christian doctrine originated in Jerusalem. This involved a change in ideas about the crucifixion. Christ said that repentance would be preached in his name to all nations.<sup>154</sup> This preaching started in Jerusalem, because Christian belief was based on the death of Christ. True Christians believed in the resurrection and divinity of Christ. The Nicene Creed said that God and Christ were the same person. Christ's sacrifice for man was God's sacrifice for man. That explained how Christ died and came back to life.<sup>155</sup> All worship of Christ was based on that belief and that belief was responsible for converting all Christians. Augustine popularized the idea in his book *City of God* written around 417 C.E.<sup>156</sup> Christ was born in Bethlehem only a few miles away, he redeemed all men on Golgotha, returned to heaven from the Mount of Olives and the Spirit came to the disciples in the Upper Room. According to the new theology the city had witnessed the salvation of the world and it could not be cursed. The crucifixion was not a shame but the glory of Jerusalem.<sup>157</sup> Christ's actions saved men and converted souls. Christ's mission of salvation began at Jerusalem.<sup>158</sup> His death was essential to that mission.

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<sup>154</sup> Is. 2:3 (New Oxford Annotated Bible).

<sup>155</sup> "Nicene Creed," Medieval Sourcebook, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall.source/nicenecreed.html>.

<sup>156</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, viii, 840.

<sup>157</sup> Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 190-191.

<sup>158</sup> Renna, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought*, 78.

As the opinion about Christ's death changed, Jerusalem became considered a Christian city instead of a Jewish city. It was Christian because Christ lived and died there and because it was an important ecclesiastical center. Medieval Christians were advised to visit the city to see the sacred sites and worship God, because seeing those sites confirmed beliefs found in the Bible and in sermons.<sup>159</sup> Around 759 B.C.E. the prophet Micah had predicted that people would come to Jerusalem to learn about God.<sup>160</sup> So Christ's death must have been planned by God. The idea that the Jews murdered Christ never went away but the crucifixion became something to be proud of rather than something to mourn. All Christians owed a debt to Jerusalem for originating their doctrine. Furthermore, in 1095 Christians argued that the source of Christianity should be under Christian control to help Christians receive baptism and receive a witness of their faith.<sup>161</sup> Jerusalem gained value as a teaching tool - a gigantic visual aide.

The presence of Christians in Jerusalem in the fourth and fifth centuries influenced thinking about earthly Jerusalem. It lessened but did not eradicate the idea that the city belonged to the Jews. Disasters in the city continued to be viewed as examples of God's anger with the Jews and their Temple. When the Muslims took the city in 638 C.E. western Christians continued to travel to the city and tour the holy sites. There was not a mass movement to recapture the city and there would not be for another five hundred

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<sup>159</sup> Renna, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought*, 20.

<sup>160</sup> Micah 4:2 (New Oxford Annotated).

<sup>161</sup> "Guibert of Nogent," in *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants*, edited by August C. Krey (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1921), 36-39.

years but the idea of Jerusalem as a cursed city was gone.<sup>162</sup> There was no concept that God used Jerusalem to punish or reward Christians as it was believed he had for the Jews. But Christians had an interest in Jerusalem. The city was now a reminder of heaven. God had established earthly Jerusalem as a sign of the heavenly city that would eventually occupy the earth. Earthly Jerusalem earned the title 'Holy City' because it was a reminder of heaven.<sup>163</sup> Biblical writers were to teach about the heavenly Jerusalem using its earthly predecessor. The idea was that the heavenly city was given to the perfect people and the earthly city was given to imperfect people.<sup>164</sup> The city was a reminder of the heaven people were striving for - a place of perfect peace.

Medieval Christian scholars considered Jerusalem to be a type for heaven; they called earthly Jerusalem the image of heavenly Jerusalem.<sup>165</sup> Type meant example or model and also embodiment, a bodily form of something or a part of a whole. The city was valued as part of heaven. It was less important and less perfect but the two cities were said to have similar structures.<sup>166</sup> Medieval Christians believed that a part of an object could equal the whole object, if a part of heaven was present then all of it could be present.<sup>167</sup> Earthly Jerusalem was less perfect and less special but it was a part of heaven.

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<sup>162</sup> Renna, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought*, 50.

<sup>163</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, 597.

<sup>164</sup> Renna, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought*, 12.

<sup>165</sup> "Balderic of Dol," in *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants*, edited by August C. Krey (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1921), 35.

<sup>166</sup> Davies, *The Gospel and the Land*, 148.

<sup>167</sup> Peter Robert Lamont Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 88; Lindahl, *Medieval Folklore*, 356.

Augustine said that earthly Jerusalem was the ‘shadow’ of the city that was coming.<sup>168</sup> Jerusalem went from being heaven’s opposite to being part of heaven. That made the existence of earthly Jerusalem vital to Christians.

There was a rise in the number of pilgrims to Jerusalem from 1000 C.E. to 1095.<sup>169</sup> Pilgrims of all classes came to Jerusalem for many reasons. Some made the trip as a way to do penance, cleansing the spirit by hardship. Others believed that their souls would go directly to heaven if they died in Jerusalem. Visiting earthly Jerusalem became a way to reach heaven. One pilgrim said, “I will not enter into the heavenly Jerusalem until I can enter into the earthly Jerusalem.”<sup>170</sup> Another woman, around 1026, gave her property away and went to Jerusalem to die near the Holy Sepulcher.<sup>171</sup> Their bodies had followed Christ to Jerusalem so their souls would follow him to heaven. Whatever their individual reasons for coming, most pilgrims believed that a pilgrimage would cleanse their sins and give them a way into heaven. For them, and for many Europeans who never went to Jerusalem, earthly Jerusalem was as hallowed as heavenly Jerusalem.<sup>172</sup> This was a continuation of the developing idea that earthly Jerusalem was a precursor of heaven. It resembled heaven so it must have some of the same powers including the ability to save people. Some pilgrims went to Jerusalem so they could die there and be guaranteed a

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<sup>168</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, 744.

<sup>169</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 26.

<sup>170</sup> Davies, *The Gospel and the Land*, 149.

<sup>171</sup> Georges Duby, *The Knight, the Lady, and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 100.

<sup>172</sup> Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, 5.

place in heaven.<sup>173</sup> Many pilgrims moved to the city for the same reason. It was said that even those who died on the way to Jerusalem went to heaven.<sup>174</sup> One pilgrim prayed:

I pray to You, infinite Goodness, to grant me, if my soul must leave my body during this year, that I do not depart from here, but that this may happen to me while I behold the site of your ascension. Because I believe that, just as I followed your example by bringing my body to this place, so also my soul will follow you soundly, safely, and joyfully to paradise.<sup>175</sup>

He died that day. Other pilgrims stayed in Jerusalem's monasteries and hospitals while they waited to die. The number of pilgrims increased in the eleventh century.<sup>176</sup> People were going to earthly Jerusalem to reach heavenly Jerusalem.<sup>177</sup> The Crusaders were told that they would go to heaven if they died in or on the way to Jerusalem.<sup>178</sup> Another reason for the crusade was to protect the link between the physical city and heaven. If Jerusalem was destroyed the connection would be destroyed as well.

Heaven would come to earth when the world ended.<sup>179</sup> Theories about the end of the world were important to understanding the role of Jerusalem in the crusading movement. Large groups of pilgrims traveled to Jerusalem in 1033. They thought that the one thousand year anniversary of Christ's crucifixion might mark the end of the world. In 1064 a group of noble pilgrims went to Jerusalem to witness the end of the world. The end of the world was a big topic of discussion in medieval culture. Theories about the

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<sup>173</sup> Bredero, *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages*, 88.

<sup>174</sup> Bredero, *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages*, 96-99.

<sup>175</sup> *Histories, IV*, (Paris, 1886), 106. Published in *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages: the Relations Between Religion, Church and Society*, by Adriaan Hendrik Bredero, translated by Reinder Bruinsma (Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 1994), 97.

<sup>176</sup> Bredero, *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages*, 97.

<sup>177</sup> Medieval pilgrimage sites will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

<sup>178</sup> "Fulcher," 29; "Gesta," 29.

<sup>179</sup> Revelations 21:1-2 (New Oxford Annotated).

date and place of the Apocalypse were well known. Although the church officials did not agree with any of the possible end of the world dates, theologians and members of the public created and discarded various theories. The standard theory of the date for the end of the world came from Augustine. Augustine had divided the allotted time of the earth into six periods. They paralleled the six days of the creation. The sixth day had begun with the birth of Christ and would continue to the end of time. By this reckoning the end was very close. Another theory divided the world into four great empires. This theory was based on the Book of Daniel chapters 2, 7 and 8. These chapters described a series of dreams that predicted that there would be four kingdoms on the earth and then God would establish his kingdom on earth.<sup>180</sup> Some medieval people thought that the Frankish Empire was the fourth kingdom. This theory was mentioned in the writings of Agobard, the bishop of Lyon in 840. In this case the end would come when the Frankish empire collapsed.<sup>181</sup> By this reckoning the end was overdue in 1095.

Several things had to happen before the world could end, including the arrival of a character called the Antichrist. The idea of the Antichrist came from the Bible. Someone who opposed Christ was an antichrist. John said there would be lots of antichrists in the world but one great and particularly awful antichrist would come to lead them. Antichrists denied God and Christ and they denied that Christ was coming back to earth. The prophet Daniel dreamed about a great king who would take over the world and

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<sup>180</sup> Daniel 2:1, 31-45, 7: 2-14, 17-27, 8:3-14, 17-26 (New Oxford Annotated Bible).

<sup>181</sup> Bredero, *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages*, 97; "Agobard of Lyon," in *Medieval Sourcebook*, <http://fordham.edu/halsall/peterhermit.html>.

challenge God.<sup>182</sup> This big Antichrist was a very popular character in medieval Christian theology. He gave the Apocalypse an identifiable enemy, someone that sounded easier to defeat than Satan. Satan was powerful enough to lead a rebellion against God. He regularly tempted and destroyed people. And he never went away. The Antichrist was a human being who could be defeated and killed.

Of the end of the world I truly believe those things which I have learnt from those who have gone before, but that before this the Antichrist shall come. First the Antichrist brings in circumcision, proclaiming himself to be Christ. Then in the Temple of Jerusalem he places his image to be worshipped ...<sup>183</sup>

The Antichrist would set up his tent on the Mount of Olives. His reign would begin with the murder of three kings in Egypt, Africa and Ethiopia because they were active Christians. He would sit in the temple and teach as if he were God.<sup>184</sup> Christ was the human version of God and the Antichrist was Satan's mortal representative. These ideas depended on the existence of Christian kingdoms in Palestine, Africa, Egypt and Ethiopia. These kingdoms were under Muslim control for most or all of the Middle Ages. Major political and religious changes had to occur in the Mediterranean before the coming of the Antichrist.

In 840 C.E., Agobard, the bishop of Lyon, added a new character to the Apocalypse, the Last Emperor. The Last Emperor would rule a Christian kingdom in Jerusalem before the coming of the Antichrist. The Last Emperor and the Antichrist

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<sup>182</sup> 1 John 2:18, 22; 2 John 1:7; Daniel 7: 8-10, 23-27, 8: 10-12, 23-25 (New Oxford Annotated).

<sup>183</sup> Gregory of Tours, *The History of the Franks*, translated by Lewis Thorpe (New York: Penguin Classics, 1974), 68.

<sup>184</sup> Bredero, *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages*, 96-99.

would fight. The Last Emperor would prevail and the Antichrist would be imprisoned for a thousand years. Then the Last Emperor would rule the world from Jerusalem. At the end of the thousand years Jerusalem would be the site of the final battle for humanity, when Satan and his sidekicks Gog and Magog would raise an army of people to attack the Christian Empire.<sup>185</sup> The Last Emperor was God's representative on earth. For a thousand years there would be a central, stable kingdom ruled by a moral man. Charlemagne had only died ten years earlier.<sup>186</sup> The Last Emperor sounded a great deal like the idealized Charlemagne, a strong Christian ruler who unified a large territory and defeated Satan. Charlemagne created the basis for the West's claim to Jerusalem and he created part of their ideal for heaven. As long as his people had confidence in the Carolingian empire there was little widespread panic about the fate of the world. They were safe. But after the empire disintegrated panic increased, people began to see signs of the Antichrist and the end of the world everywhere. The mass pilgrimages to Jerusalem in 1033 and 1064 were part of this hysteria.

Some Crusade propaganda suggested that the Crusade was part of God's plan to bring about the end of the world. Since the Antichrist was to attack Christians, there needed to be a Christian kingdom in Jerusalem, as well as in Africa, Egypt and Ethiopia. God wanted the Crusaders to go to Jerusalem. Once there was a kingdom in Palestine, Christians could spread to other countries. If there were no Christian kingdom the Antichrist would have no one to fight and God's plan would be destroyed. Guibert of Nogent's copy of Urban's speech calling for soldiers for the First Crusade said "...if by

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<sup>185</sup> Bredero, *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages*, 96-99.

<sup>186</sup> Hollister, *Medieval Europe*, 74.

your labors, God working through you, it should occur that the Mother of churches should flourish anew to the worship of Christianity, whether, perchance, He may not wish other regions of the East restored to the faith against the approaching time of the Antichrist.”<sup>187</sup> The Crusaders would be rewarded with the gift of the grace of God for helping facilitate his plan. But it all started with a Christian kingdom in Jerusalem.<sup>188</sup>

Count Emico of Leiningen went on crusade because he believed he was the Last Emperor. One chronicler compared him to Saul, saying he was called to repent and fight for God. Emico and his men joined Peter and the Peasants Crusade in attacking Jewish settlements along the Rhine, the Main and the Danube, giving Jews the choice of baptism or death. The Jews of Mainz took refuge with the Bishop of Mainz. They were hidden in his house when the Crusaders arrived. When the crusaders attacked the house and broke in the Jews responded by committing suicide so they would not be forced to convert to Christianity. Once all the Jews were gone the house and the town were looted. The Crusaders continued to loot, kill and forcibly baptize Jews until they were defeated by the King of Hungary. The Hungarian King decided that this group of Crusaders would not see any difference between killing Jews and killing Hungarians, so he sent his army to stop the Crusaders at the border. The two armies fought for six weeks and then Emico’s men suddenly ran. That was the end of Emico’s crusade. He went home.<sup>189</sup> Before his

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<sup>187</sup> “Guibert of Nogent,” 38.

<sup>188</sup> “Guibert of Nogent,” 38-39.

<sup>189</sup> “Ekkehard,” in *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants*, edited by August C. Krey (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1921), 53-54; “Albert of Aix,” 54-56; “Solomon bar Samson,” *Medieval Sourcebook*, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/1096jews-mainz.html>, 1-5.

crusade ended so badly Emico believed he was on his way to heavenly Jerusalem by way of earthly Jerusalem.

Earthly Jerusalem came to be valued as a way to get to heaven. The early Christians considered Jerusalem cursed. It was the city of the Jews who killed Christ. The destruction and annihilation of the city by the Romans confirmed that opinion. Emperor Constantine helped to change Christian opinion by ordering Christ's tomb uncovered and by starting a massive building program in Jerusalem. Christians who traveled to the city to see their religion's history began to see the city as holy. As asceticism became popular many Christians moved to Jerusalem to start nunneries and monasteries. They encouraged others to come and join them. Their enthusiasm improved Jerusalem's reputation in the West. Christians borrowed new ideas about Jerusalem from the Jews. One idea they borrowed was that Jerusalem was the center of the earth. Christians decided that that meant that Jerusalem was the source for all Christian doctrine. As the site of the crucifixion and the empty tomb, Jerusalem became a visual aide for teaching Christianity. Christians believed that one could get to heaven by dying in the city or on the way to the city.

There were two reasons that the crusaders wanted to preserve earthly Jerusalem: they wanted to preserve the link between earthly Jerusalem and heavenly Jerusalem and they saw rescuing the city as an act of penitential warfare. The city was considered a Christian inheritance. Paul said that the Christians were God's new chosen people. Augustine said the Christians earned heaven for their obedience and Christian mythology claimed that the city had been given to Charlemagne. Inheritance was very important to

medieval Christians because land equaled wealth. Earthly Jerusalem was a source of hope. The existence of the city provided several ways to access heaven. People could use the city as a reminder to help them work toward perfection. They could die in the city and go to heaven. Jerusalem was the site of the Apocalypse and the future site of heaven and a reminder that the world and its problems were temporary. These advantages all depended on the existence of the physical city. After the Apocalypse heaven would be brought to earth, but before that could happen there needed to be a Christian kingdom in Jerusalem. Crusade propaganda suggested that the crusade might be God's way of creating a Christian kingdom in Jerusalem and facilitating the arrival of heaven.

### Chapter 3: A Physical Connection to God

Medieval Christians wanted God's protection from life's dangers. Relics and holy places were seen as ways to bring God's power to earth. As Jerusalem's reputation improved, the city became the best source of relics and holy places because it was connected to Christ. Jerusalem's relics and holy places were another reason why the city was holy. The Church of Holy Sepulcher built by Constantine was especially valued as a way to obtain forgiveness from sins, and Christ's Cross was valued as the most effective relic in the world. Jerusalem became a conduit to God and a way for the living to get divine help.

People feared raiders, wars, illness and injury, and Christians wanted God's protection from these fears. Christ was God's mortal form. People listening to Christ were astounded because "...he spoke with authority." He encountered a man who was possessed by a demon. The demon said, "Let us alone! What have you to do with us, Jesus of Nazareth? Have you come to destroy us? I know you are the Holy One of God." Jesus answered, "Be silent and come out of him!" The demon obeyed him. People asked where Christ got the authority to do such miracles.<sup>190</sup> Christ had the authority because he was God. God's favors often took the form of miracles. After Christ left earth God performed miracles through others. People saw miracles as a basic part of life in the Middle Ages.

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<sup>190</sup> Luke 4: 32-36 (New Oxford Annotated).

The concept of God working in the physical world was accepted as normal.<sup>191</sup> The familiarity with miracles came from pagan religions. Pagans considered magic a part of life. Christian missionaries presented God as a protection from evil magic. God and his servants had greater powers than the demons or monsters that were believed to infest the earth. Monsters included the Wild Hunt, a group of hunters led by the Devil that drove souls into hell.<sup>192</sup> The *Life of the Saint Cuthbert* describes the people of Northumbria giving up their protective amulets when they converted to Christianity. But they took the amulets back when they felt threatened. Many saints were originally pagan gods. People simply turned the incantations into prayers and amulets into relics.<sup>193</sup> For example St. Brigid of Kildare was originally the mother goddess of the ancient Celts.<sup>194</sup>

Christians placed great value on having physical connections to God. A saint was a friend of God, someone who had been redeemed by suffering and was eligible to go to heaven. Saints were venerated by other Christians. They could ask God for favors.<sup>195</sup> That connection to God made them powerful. People went to saints for help because God was more likely to listen to them. A person went to the saint to ask for a favor and then the saint asked God. If God granted the favor he used the saint to perform the miracle. Saints retained their ability to ask for favors after they died. After saints died people prayed to them.

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<sup>191</sup> Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, 33.

<sup>192</sup> Philippe Walter, *Christianity The Origins of a Pagan Religion* (Rochester: Inner Traditions, 2006), 35-36.

<sup>193</sup> Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, 10-11.

<sup>194</sup> Walter, *Christianity*, 81.

<sup>195</sup> Lindhal, *Medieval Folklore*, 355.

Medieval Christians believed that God acted most efficiently through relics. Relics were physical objects associated with saints. The first relics were pieces of a saint's body. There were only so many pieces to go around so people also used things that had belonged to a saint, like clothing, or things that had touched a saint's body. The idea for relics probably came from a scripture in Acts that stated "God did extraordinary miracles through Paul, so that when the handkerchiefs or aprons that had touched his skin were brought to the sick, their diseases left them, and the evil spirits came out of them."<sup>196</sup> Saints' graves were another conduit for God's power. Like relics they created a way for power to come from heaven to earth.<sup>197</sup> Graves became ecclesiastical centers in early Christianity because a saint was believed to be still physically present at his or her tomb. The inscription on Saint Martin's grave reads.

Here lies Martin the bishop, of holy memory, whose soul is in the hand of God; but he is fully here, present and made plain in miracles of every kind.<sup>198</sup>

Christ told Peter, "You are Peter and upon this rock I will build my church and I will give you the keys of heaven." People thought that since Peter had the keys to heaven and his body was in Rome they could get into heaven by visiting Peter's shrine in Rome.<sup>199</sup> Rome was valued for its strong connection to God.

Relics and holy places worked because Christians believed that the part equaled the whole. Where a part of something or someone existed the whole person or thing could

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<sup>196</sup> Acts 19:11-12 (New Oxford Annotated).

<sup>197</sup> Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 3.

<sup>198</sup> Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 4.

<sup>199</sup> "The Apology of Claudius of Turin," Medieval Sourcebook, <http://urban.hunter.cuny.edu/~thead/clauidius.htm>, 3.

be present. As long as a part of a saint survived the saint could be present on earth. When people went to visit holy places or relics they were going to see a person not an object.<sup>200</sup> The medieval belief in saints tied God's power to places where they were buried. Many early saints' shrines had the motto 'Here is the place' or 'here' carved over the doorways. This meant that God's power was here in one spot. Shrines made holiness easily accessible to small groups of people who lived nearby. This localization was a problem for those who lived at a distance. They needed to travel to have contact with holiness and travel was expensive and dangerous. They needed a way to compensate for distance or do away with it.<sup>201</sup> For this reason pilgrimages became very ritualized. It was a way to utilize the journey and make the travel itself part of the holy ritual.

The effectiveness of relics and holy places depended on the power of the saint to whom they were connected. Relics were divided into three groups. The most powerful were connected to Biblical characters and early martyrs. These included the cross, bones of the apostles, and tomb of the Three Kings in Cologne, Germany. The second most powerful were relics of church founders or famous bishops and abbots, like King Edward the Confessor who founded Westminster Abbey. The third most powerful were the relics of contemporary saints, like William of Norwich, the child martyr rumored to have been killed by the Jews.<sup>202</sup> The relics in the last two groups were less powerful for two reasons: they were not as well known and they were not as close to God. The Apostles and the Virgin Mary had known Christ, so had some of the early martyrs. They had

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<sup>200</sup> Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 88; Lindahl, *Medieval Sourcebook*, 356.

<sup>201</sup> Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 86.

<sup>202</sup> Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, 33-34, 68, 205.

actually been his friends on this earth. The next generation of saints knew people who knew Christ. They were still Christ's friends but the connection was not as strong. The further from Christ the weaker the connection. The second and third groups of saints were also less well known. Everyone heard Bible stories but the stories of saints like Edward and William were usually known regionally, not throughout Christendom.

Medieval holy places were ranked in the same way as relics - the closer to Christ the better the site.<sup>203</sup> The best relics and holy places were connected to Christ. Balderic of Dol, who wrote directly after the First Crusade, wrote of Jerusalem that:

This land was have deservedly called holy in which there is not even a foot-step that the body or spirit of the Savior did not render glorious and blessed; which embraced the holy presence of the mother of God, and the meetings of the apostles, and drank up the blood of the martyrs shed there. How blessed are the stones which crowned you, Stephen, the first martyr! How happy, O, John the Baptist, the waters of the Jordan which served you in baptizing the Savior...<sup>204</sup>

Another author said,

... what sanctity, what reverence has it not acquired since God in His majesty was there clothed in the flesh, nourished, grew up, and in bodily form there walked about, or was carried about; and, to compress in fitting brevity all that might be told in a long series of words, since there the blood of the Son of God, more holy than heaven and earth, was poured forth, and His body, its quivering members dead, rested in the tomb. What veneration do we think it deserves? If, when the Lord had but just been crucified and the city was still held by the Jews, it was called holy by the evangelist when he says, 'Many bodies of the saints that had fallen asleep were raised; and coming forth out of the tombs after His resurrection, they entered into the holy city and appeared unto many,' and by the prophet Isaiah when he says, 'It shall be His glorious sepulcher,' then, surely, with this sanctity placed upon it by God the Sanctifier, Himself, no evil that

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<sup>203</sup> Lindhal, *Medieval Folklore*, 321.

<sup>204</sup> "Balderic of Dol," 34-35.

befall it can destroy it, and in the same way glory is indivisibly fixed to His Sepulcher.<sup>205</sup>

In the eyes of Balderic and Guibert, Jerusalem was tied directly to God because his mortal avatar lived and died there.

The carefully detailed descriptions left by pilgrims to Jerusalem show how important the city was to them. Formal travel guides to Jerusalem were rare, though there were a few. One was written by a Byzantine whose name has now been lost. It was called *Breviarius* and was written in the sixth century. The author did not claim to be writing a professional or scholarly work but his book gives detailed descriptions of Jerusalem's holy places and relics. The next guidebook is from the same era. It was also written by a Byzantine, Theodosius. Like the author of *Breviarius* Theodosius was not trying to write a professional guide book. Both books were recopied and incorporated into other works on Jerusalem. A monk named Arculf traveled to Jerusalem around 703 C.E. His observations of the city were written down by a fellow monk called Adamnam. Adamnam wanted to give people who would never have the chance to visit Jerusalem a way to learn about the city. His book was presented to King Aldifrid of Northubrius. The king paid to have the book copied and circulated.<sup>206</sup> Many pilgrims kept diaries or wrote

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<sup>205</sup> Guibert of Nogent, 36-37.

<sup>206</sup> "Breviarius," in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 154-155; "Theodosius, *Topography of the Holy Land*," in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 156; "Arculf I," in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 202-203;

letters home. These informal accounts provide a great deal of information about Jerusalem. They were carefully preserved by others for the information they contained.

The earliest known pilgrim was the Traveler of Bordeaux. He came to Jerusalem in 333 C.E. traveling by imperial post. He left a very detailed account of the city. He listed the names of all the post stations on his route and gave the distance between them. His text was very dry. When he described the Temple of Solomon, or what was left of it, he described everything that was supposed to have happened at that site: the healing pools of Bethesda were next to the Temple, Solomon tortured devils in the crypt, Satan told Christ to throw himself off one of the towers. When Christ said ‘The stone that the builders rejected has become the head of the corner,’ he used one of the temple corner stones to illustrate his point.<sup>207</sup> The next account comes from a nun named Egeria. She visited Jerusalem around 380 C.E. She wrote long letters home describing every Christian ceremony performed in Jerusalem including Easter, Pentecost and Epiphany. She also described the daily and weekly services.<sup>208</sup> An anonymous pilgrim from Piacenza arrived

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Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, translated by Leo Shirley-Price (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 293-294.

<sup>207</sup> “The Bordeaux Pilgrim,” in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 143; Amos Elon, *Jerusalem City of Mirrors* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1989), 121-122; Dan Bahat, Chaim T. Rubinstein, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*, translated by Shlomo Ketko (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), 70.

<sup>208</sup> “Egeria’s Description of the Liturgical Year in Jerusalem,” *Medieval Sourcebook*, <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~mikef/durham/egetra.html>, 1-4; “Egeria,” in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 147-149.

in Jerusalem in 570 C.E. He described the portrait of Christ found in the Pretorium. The Pretorium was the place where Pilate judged Christ.

The portrait, which was painted in his lifetime and placed in the Pretorium, shows a well placed foot, small and delicate, a person of ordinary height, with a handsome face, curly hair, and a beautiful hand with long fingers.<sup>209</sup>

A monk named Bernard was in Jerusalem about 870 C.E. His descriptions included buildings and Muslim laws. At this time pilgrims needed to have a letter from the local ruler saying that they had permission to travel in the area. Bernard's group obtained letters from the sultan and the leader of Alexandria. His party was stopped near Babylon and imprisoned for traveling illegally. They paid a fine and received letters from a prince called Adelacham allowing them to continue traveling.<sup>210</sup> Some pilgrimage journeys were preserved in biographies. For example St Willibald's pilgrimage in 724 C.E was described in his biography.<sup>211</sup> The Great German Pilgrimage in 1064 C.E. was made by a large group that included the Archbishop of Metz, the Bishop of Utrecht, the Bishop of Ratisbon, and the Bishop of Gunther. The story was recorded by Annalist of Nieder-Altach.<sup>212</sup> Since formal travel guides were rare information on Jerusalem was gained by reading firsthand accounts of the pilgrims or biographies of pilgrims.

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<sup>209</sup> "Piacenza Pilgrim," in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 167.

<sup>210</sup> "Bernard," in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 222-223.

<sup>211</sup> Peters, *Jerusalem*, 205.

<sup>212</sup> "Annalist of Nieder-Altach, *The Great German Pilgrimage of 1064-65*," *Medieval Sourcebook*. <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/104pilgrims.html>, 1.

When pilgrims first started coming to Jerusalem Christian leaders needed to figure out where to put them. There was no organized system for housing pilgrims. Some pilgrims stayed in the many convents and monasteries in Jerusalem. Others stayed in the hospices which were built to house pilgrims. These houses depended on charity because they were expensive to build and maintain. Melania the Elder, one of the Roman aristocrats who moved to Jerusalem in the late fourth century and Rufinus, another expatriate, built a hospice on the Mount of Olives. Melania also built a monastery. Both buildings were intended to allow people to pray, to do penance, to teach, to study and to provide food and shelter to pilgrims. Saint Jerome and Paula stayed at this hospice when they first arrived in Jerusalem. They used the hospice and monastery as the model for their own community in Bethlehem.<sup>213</sup> Melania's granddaughter, Melania the Younger, built more monasteries on the Mount of Olives in 420 C.E.<sup>214</sup> The Empress Eudocia, from Byzantium, also ordered the building of many churches, monasteries, and hospices. She also had the walls of Jerusalem extended to cover the Christian settlements that had developed around Mount Sion and the Pool of Siloam.<sup>215</sup> Emperor Justinian (C.E. 527-565) built a hospital dedicated to nursing sick pilgrims. The hospital had one hundred beds. Justinian set apart an annual revenue of one thousand eight hundred and fifty gold nomismatas a year for its upkeep. Later he expanded the hospital so it could have two

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<sup>213</sup> Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 197-198; Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*, 70.

<sup>214</sup> Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*, 71.

<sup>215</sup> Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*, 71; Peters, *Jerusalem*, 161-162.

hundred beds and raised the yearly revenues.<sup>216</sup> At the end of the century Pope Gregory the Great built a hospice for the Latin clergy.<sup>217</sup> Charlemagne built a number of places to house pilgrims. The best known was a large complex that included a monastery, a convent, a market place and a hospice with twelve rooms for pilgrims. The complex was in the Kidron Valley. It supported itself. The complex had fields, a garden, a vineyard and the income from the market place. Bernard stayed at this hospice in 870 C.E. He reported that the hospice had a splendid library and that one could do business in the market for an annual fee of two gold pieces.<sup>218</sup> If one did not want to live in the hospices there were lots of caves surrounding Jerusalem. Hermits lived in the caves and tombs in the hills around the city. Sabas, a hermit, came to Jerusalem in the fifth century. He lived on a cliff about nine miles outside of Jerusalem.<sup>219</sup>

Although pilgrims' housing and descriptions of their journeys varied widely there were some places and relics that were important to almost all Christian pilgrims. Most visited the Pool of Bethesda. In Christ's time the pool was said to have healing powers. An angel would come down and make the water bubble. The first person to enter the water was healed of any infirmities or illnesses. One day Christ noticed a lame man waiting by the side of the pool. Christ stopped and healed the man of his lameness.

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<sup>216</sup> "Life of Sabas," in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 162-163; Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*, 74.

<sup>217</sup> Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*, 77.

<sup>218</sup> "Bernard," 220; Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 252; Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*, 86.

<sup>219</sup> Amos Elon, *Jerusalem: City of Mirrors*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1989), 123; Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 205.

Christian pilgrims bathed in the Pool of Bethesda in hopes of being healed. The Bordeaux pilgrim said that people who had been sick for many years bathed in the pool. People described Bethesda as having two pools, one contained clear water and the other contained red water. The description of the pool in Bible describes only one pool and makes no mention of the color of the water. According to Willibald people still thought that an angel came down to stir up the waters. The first one into the water was healed. Another pilgrim claimed that the paralytics' couch was still lying next to the pool. According to the Bible the healed man took the couch away with him.<sup>220</sup>

Christians put the pool of Siloam near the pool of Bethesda. Christ sent a blind man to wash in the Pool. When the man did so his eyes were healed. The pool of Siloam that the Christians visited was located near the Temple foundation because in the Book of John, Christ healed the blind man just after leaving the temple. Christian pilgrims said that the pool was fed by a spring for six days of the week but on Sunday the spring always stopped running. The Empress Eudocia built a church near the pool in the mid fifth century. By 570 C.E. pilgrims were bathing in the pool in hopes of being cured. The

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<sup>220</sup> John 5:1-9 (New Oxford Annotated); "Bordeaux Pilgrim," 143; "Eucherius, *Letter to Faustus*," in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 154; "*Life of Willibald*," in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times* edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 210; "*Topography*," 157; Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 212.

pool then consisted of two marble baths, one for men and one for women. A third man-made bath was added so that more people could bathe at the same time.<sup>221</sup>

Another popular holy place was the pillar where Christ was scourged. Pilgrims said that Christ left the imprint of his hands and face in the stone. The marks were so clear that people could see the fingers and palms. People would use string to measure the hands and then wear the strings around their necks to heal illnesses. The pillar was found in the Holy Zion church. It was one of the pillars that held up the portico. The Bible only says that Christ was beaten. There are no contemporary stories about marks in the pillar he hung on to. In fact there was no mention of Christ hanging onto a pillar at all.<sup>222</sup>

The Holy Zion, or Zion, church was said to have been founded by Christ. It was built on the spot where Christ spoke to Moses and Elijah. Peter suggested building three churches on the spot but there is no record of anyone having built the buildings. A church called the Church of the Apostles was built in 347 C.E. on what was believed to be the spot where Christ was transfigured. In 390 C.E. it was replaced by the Basilica of the Holy Zion. The Holy Zion was often called the Mother of All Churches because legend claimed that originally the site had been the house of Saint James. It was in Saint James' house that Christ had given the parable of the stone that the builders rejected. The stone he used as a visual aide was still in the church. Pilgrims claimed that when people put

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<sup>221</sup> John 9:7, 11 (New Oxford Annotated); "The Bordeaux Pilgrim," 145; "Topography," 157; "Piacenza," 167, 168-169; Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*, 72; Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 212.

<sup>222</sup> Mark 15:15; John 19:1; Matt 27:26 (New Oxford Annotated); "Jerome," in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 152; "Breviarius," 154; "Topography," 157; "Piacenza," 167.

their ears to the stone they could hear a murmuring sound. The church was conveniently within walking distance of the pool of Bethesda.<sup>223</sup>

Christ was said to have ascended to heaven from the Mount of Olives. Two biblical sources do not say where Christ was when he ascended.<sup>224</sup> The other places him in Bethany on the Mount of Olives.<sup>225</sup> Actually there were several churches built on the Mount of Olives. Arculf claimed that in the one on the very top of the mountain was a patch of dirt with Christ's footprints in it. Christ had been standing in this exact spot when he ascended. People would take dirt away from the spot for relics but the footprints always regenerated.<sup>226</sup>

One of the most interesting things about Jerusalem's holy places and relics is that most of them could not possibly be real. The Romans did a very thorough job of destroying Jerusalem. Hadrian rebuilt the city using the pattern for a Roman colonial city. Most of the buildings the Christians visited had to have been built after 70 C.E. either by the Roman army or by Hadrian's builders. Christians wanted to believe that they could see and touch the places where Christ and his apostles had lived or see and touch things they had used or worn because they believed that holy places and relics brought God closer to earth.

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<sup>223</sup> Mark 9: 2-8; Matt. 17: 1-8; Luke 9: 28-36 (New Oxford Annotated); Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*, 71, 77; "Topography," 157; "Piacenza," 166; "Willibald," 210.

<sup>224</sup> Mark 16:19; Acts 1:9-11 (New Oxford Annotated).

<sup>225</sup> Luke 24:51 (New Oxford Annotated).

<sup>226</sup> Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 296-297; Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*, 70-71.

People went to a lot of time and trouble to find these holy places. They thought that since God had visited these places once and performed miracles there he might be willing to visit again and perform more miracles. Building churches on or near these places was a way to make it easier for Christians to approach God for favors. One popular prayer went:

We make offering to Thee also, O Lord, for the Holy Places, which Thou has glorified by the divine appearance of Thy Christ and by the visitation of Thy All-Holy Spirit...even now, O Lord, bestow upon her the rich gifts of Thy All-Holy Spirit.<sup>227</sup>

The most important holy place was the Holy Sepulcher. The church covered Christ's tomb.<sup>228</sup> It was part of a complex of churches built around the site that included Calvary, the Holy Sion Church (founded by Christ), the House of Caiaphas (turned into the church of Saint Peter), the Pretorium Pilate, the church of the Holy Wisdom, the Pool of Siloam, the House of Pilate, the Sheep Pool, and the Church of Saint Mary.<sup>229</sup> The Holy Sepulcher was the most important because it had a yearly miracle and it was believed to offer proof of Christ's divinity.<sup>230</sup>

The original church built by Constantine had four sections: an atrium or open courtyard, a basilica, the holy Garden which was a second courtyard and a rotunda with

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<sup>227</sup> "Jerusalem Prayer," in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 170.

<sup>228</sup> "Eusebius," 133.

<sup>229</sup> "Topography," 156-157.

<sup>230</sup> "Balderic of Dol," 33-34.

the tomb in the center.<sup>231</sup> The rotunda of the Holy Sepulcher was circular in shape and decorated in red and white. It had three walls and twelve columns where the fourth wall would have been. There were three altars one facing north, one south, and one west. The tomb was completely covered in marble on the outside. The roof was adorned with gold and had a large gold cross on top. The twelve lamps in the tomb were kept burning day and night. There were two altars in the tomb. They were supposedly made from the broken tomb door.<sup>232</sup> According to his biographer, Eusebius, Constantine ordered the Bishop of Jerusalem to make the church large and expensive. The site was holy because Jesus Christ was buried and resurrected there. This was the ultimate holy place and the church was to surpass all other buildings. Constantine said to ask for any marble or gold they needed and he would provide it.<sup>233</sup> Constantine got what he wanted. The Holy Sepulcher was the greatest Christian shrine.<sup>234</sup>

The Holy Sepulcher was demolished by Caliph al-Hakim in 1009.<sup>235</sup> The site remained empty until the church was rebuilt in 1048 by Emperor Constantine Monomachus. The new building had a main entrance that looked south, an inner courtyard and six chapels, one of which doubled as a baptistery. There was a prayer

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<sup>231</sup> Dan Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*, 70-71. The exact position of Christ's tomb has always been debated. The Holy Sepulcher is found in what is now the Upper City. In Christ's time it would have been outside the city, which makes sense since no one would have been buried inside the city. John says the tomb was in a garden near Golgotha. This is not confirmed by any other source. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century Charles Gordon said that Christ's tomb was really found in a garden well outside the modern city. "Eusebius," 132; John 19:40-42; Matthew 27:5 9-60; Mark 15:46; Luke 23: 53 (New Oxford Annotated); Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*, 18.

<sup>232</sup> Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 294-6.

<sup>233</sup> "Eusebius," 133-135.

<sup>234</sup> Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, 120.

<sup>235</sup> Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*, 87; This will be elaborated on in Chapter 4.

garden on the east side of the building for quiet contemplation and a rotunda, built on the old foundation. The inside was decorated with Byzantine brocade in gold. Needlework on the brocade included pictures of Christ and of famous prophets like Abraham, Ishmael, and Isaac. One brocade cloth had a picture of heaven and hell. The Crusaders did not think this building was grand enough. After taking the city they rebuilt the Holy Sepulcher. Their building had cracked stone in the foundation. They claimed that the stone had cracked when Christ died. It housed two pieces of the cross.<sup>236</sup> One entered the tomb by going outside and down some steps to see the cave where the cross was found then back up to the ground to see where Christ's body was anointed with oil and back into the tomb to see where Christ was buried. The tomb itself was covered in marble, gold and gems. There were three small holes in the decorations so that pilgrims could kiss the stones underneath.<sup>237</sup>

The Holy Sepulcher became a symbol of Christ's death. Pictures of the tomb as it was when Constantine's original building was still standing were found on many objects. Archeologists even found a ring decorated with a tiny sculpture of the tomb.<sup>238</sup> To Christians the tomb was irrefutable proof of Christ's existence because it was empty.<sup>239</sup> If Christ had been a fake the tomb would have had a body in it when it was opened.

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<sup>236</sup> I will elaborate on the finding of the cross later in the chapter.

<sup>237</sup> Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*, 88; "Nasir-i Khusraw," in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 267-268; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 24.

<sup>238</sup> Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*, 77.

<sup>239</sup> Matt. 27:59-60, 28:6; Mark 15:46, 16:6; Luke 23:53, 24:3; John 19:40-42, 20:1-7 (New Oxford Annotated).

Early Christians were encouraged while at the Holy Sepulcher to ritually mourn Christ's death. Egeria described the services at the Holy Sepulcher in detail. Every day after matins the Bishop of the Holy Sepulcher went down into the tomb; he said a prayer for individuals he thought needed special help, then he said a prayer for the audience. After he came out the entire congregation would line up to kiss his hands. On Sundays the entire congregation, or as many as would fit, went into the tomb. The Bishop read the story of Christ's death and resurrection. The audience was encouraged to moan and lament as they listened to the story of Christ's suffering.<sup>240</sup> When Paula visited the tomb she

...kissed the stone which the angel had removed from the sepulcher door, then like a thirsty man who had waited long and at last comes to water, she faithfully kissed the very place where the Lord had lain. Her tears and lamentations were known to all of Jerusalem, or to the Lord himself who she called upon.<sup>241</sup>

Christians made the Holy Sepulcher the exact center of the world by saying that it was built on the place where Abraham almost sacrificed Isaac.<sup>242</sup> Since Christ's death was central to human salvation his empty tomb was the center of the world. The Christians' preoccupation with his painful death made his tomb the center of their piety. The anonymous pilgrim from Piacenza says that dirt from the tomb floor was given to pilgrims as a relic.<sup>243</sup> By 808 C.E. the Holy Sepulcher had the largest staff of any church in Jerusalem: nine priests, fourteen deacons, six sub deacons, twenty-three canonical

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<sup>240</sup> "Egeria," 148-149.

<sup>241</sup> "Jerome," 152.

<sup>242</sup> "Topography," 156.

<sup>243</sup> "Piacenza Pilgrim," 166.

clergy, fifteen guardians, forty-one monks, twelve candle carriers, seventeen servants, two superiors, two treasurers and two scribes.<sup>244</sup> Most places in Jerusalem could be used as a conduit for miracles but the Sepulcher was famous specifically as a conduit for the miracle of God's forgiveness.

Visiting the church was a way to gain protection from purgatory or hell. Count Fulk III of Anjou made four pilgrimages to Jerusalem, and all of them were made to absolve him of sin. His first pilgrimage was to ask forgiveness for all the people he had killed. His last was just before his death. Legend claims that he had a servant lead him naked through the Sepulcher by a halter while another servant beat him as he called to Christ to forgive him.<sup>245</sup> A count of Trier went to Jerusalem to do penance for killing a bishop. A man (his name is unknown) in Cologne was sentenced to make a pilgrimage to all the major shrines in the world including Jerusalem. He had killed his brother and had to make the pilgrimage with the weapon he used chained to him.<sup>246</sup> Others went to the Sepulcher for a general forgiveness of sins. These men were equally as showy as those who went on pilgrimage for specific crimes. They described themselves as 'bewailing' their sins, being 'cured' of their sins or obtaining 'remission' for their sins.<sup>247</sup> Visiting the Holy Sepulcher was seen as the best way to receive forgiveness for major sins. That was why so many Westerners made a point of sending alms to the Holy Sepulcher. In 1026

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<sup>244</sup> "Memorandum on the Houses of God and Monasteries in the Holy City," in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 219.

<sup>245</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 27.

<sup>246</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 28.

<sup>247</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 27-28.

Richard of Normandy sent 100 pounds of gold. In 1058 a bishop gave a gold chalice to the Holy Sepulcher. Many people gave money even though they never went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Some churches, abbeys and priories were founded to be proprietary to the Holy Sepulcher. This meant that they gave a share of their alms to the Sepulcher and their clergy answered to the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Proprietary churches in the West included a priory in Rouergue, a church in La Marche, the monastery in Fontvannes, and an abbey in Beze, a church at Jaligny and a priory in Langeais.<sup>248</sup> In each case the founders of these churches received a reprieve from their sins first for building a church and second for helping to support the Holy Sepulcher. Many pilgrims came to the Holy Sepulcher to receive forgiveness for acts of war. The crusaders were told that freeing the Holy Sepulcher from the Muslims would give them forgiveness for fighting with each other.<sup>249</sup>

In addition to pilgrimage stories, Jerusalem's fame in the west was largely based on the number of relics brought back from the holy land. The relics of Jerusalem found in Rome included Christ's umbilical cord, foreskin and some of his blood, pieces of his cross, and a loaf of bread and thirteen beans from the last supper.<sup>250</sup> The most powerful relic available was Christ's Cross. Legend claimed it was found in Christ's tomb during the excavation. The story bears little resemblance to the history of the Holy Sepulcher

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<sup>248</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 32-33.

<sup>249</sup> "Fulcher," 30; "Robert the Monk," in *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants*, edited by August C. Krey (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1921), 32; "Balderick of Dol," 35; "Guibert of Nogent," 37. This is elaborated on in Chapter 4.

<sup>250</sup> Tyerman, *God's War*, 69.

written by Eusebius in Constantine's biography.<sup>251</sup> This version of the story, written by Sozomen in the fifth century, says that Helena, Constantine's mother, supervised the excavation of the tomb. She wanted to find the Cross. The site of the tomb had been deliberately hidden by heaping dirt over the tomb and then paving over it. Sozomen offers two possible ways that the site was found. One, a Jew found notes on the site's location in some old family records. Two, God revealed the site of the tomb in a dream. When the site was excavated three crosses were found in the tomb along with a sign that read 'Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews.' Now Helena had to discover which cross belonged to Christ. The bishop of Jerusalem took all three crosses to the home of a dying woman. He set them on her body one at a time. When Christ's Cross touched her she was healed. Most of the cross was placed in a silver case and left in Jerusalem. The rest of the Cross and the nails that held it together were taken back to Constantinople.<sup>252</sup>

The Cross was placed in the Holy Sepulcher and it played an important part in the daily services. On Sundays the morning services ended with a prayer said in front of the Cross. On Good Friday the Cross and the sign were placed on a table in front of the bishops' chair. The bishop would sit with his hands on the end of the cross while the deacons stood guard. This was to prevent theft. Everyone in the church came forward one by one. They leaned down and kissed the Cross and then moved on. There were rumors that people stole pieces of the Cross by biting off a piece when they kissed it. The ceremony generally took four hours. During Pentecost pilgrims made a tour of all the

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<sup>251</sup> This story was covered in Chapter 2.

<sup>252</sup> "Sozomen," 138.

places Christ visited during his last week on earth. One of the last stops was to see the Cross.<sup>253</sup> When Paula visited Jerusalem her first stop was to see the Cross. There were two priests at the Holy Sepulcher who were responsible for taking care of the Cross and Christ's head cloth.<sup>254</sup>

In 614 C.E. Jerusalem was conquered by the Persians. They only ruled for fifteen years and then the city was retaken by Byzantium. The Persians took the Cross back to Persia as a prize. It was redeemed by Emperor Heraclius in 622 C.E. as part of the peace treaty with the Persians. The Cross was returned on March 21, 630 C.E., twenty-five years after leaving the city. The Cross was still sealed in the chest it had been in when it left Jerusalem. The box had never been opened. It was returned to the Holy Sepulcher. Some Christians celebrate annually the day the Cross was returned.<sup>255</sup>

Between 1000 and 1090 there was a increase of interest in relics especially in pieces of the Cross.<sup>256</sup> During his four pilgrimages Fulk acquired two pieces of the Cross. In 1027 a pilgrim from St. Vanne came back from a pilgrimage wearing a piece of the Cross around his neck. Judith of Metz founded a community dedicated to the Cross while

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<sup>253</sup> "Egeria," 149, 151; "Bervarius," 155; "Bernard," 221.

<sup>254</sup> "Jerome," 152; "Memorandum," 219.

<sup>255</sup> Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*, 78-79; "Anonymous," in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 174.

<sup>256</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 31-32.

her husband was away on pilgrimage.<sup>257</sup> Alan Caignart built a monastery and an abbey in honor of the Cross.<sup>258</sup>

Pieces of the Cross, like all other relics, connected humans to God. A piece of the Cross could guarantee a victory, heal someone or be used to cleanse a place of evil.<sup>259</sup> The Cross was considered such a powerful relic that even the shape had power. One woman was given a cross made out of chains that had bound Peter and Paul.<sup>260</sup> The chains had not been found that shape - they were twisted that way to make the relics more powerful. One did not actually need a piece of the actual Cross. Carrying a cross showed your allegiance to God. Christian missionaries in England in 597 carried crosses with them as a way of identifying themselves. Most Christian churches had crosses on their altars and for a long time churches were built in the shape of a cross.<sup>261</sup> Texts of prayers have been found that talk about winning 'by the strength of the cross'.<sup>262</sup> St. George, who became patron of crusaders, had a white cross on his banner.<sup>263</sup> The banner of St. Peter is thought to have had a red cross on it.<sup>264</sup> Three crosses were kept outside the Holy Sepulcher to remind people of Christ's sacrifice. Muslims and Jews often called

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<sup>257</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 31-32, 150.

<sup>258</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 40.

<sup>259</sup> Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 144-145; "Arculf I," 203; "Anselm of Ribemont to Manasses II, Archbishop of Reims," *Medieval Sourcebook*, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/cde-letters.html>, 1.

<sup>260</sup> Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 199.

<sup>261</sup> Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 75-76, 141; "Breviarius," 156.

<sup>262</sup> Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, 45.

<sup>263</sup> Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, 135.

<sup>264</sup> Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, 196.

Christianity the religion of the cross.<sup>265</sup> After the crusaders took Jerusalem the Count of Normandy's chaplain went throughout Jerusalem to find the Cross, which had disappeared from the Holy Sepulcher. It had been buried under the floor of a church. The Cross was returned to the Holy Sepulcher with great rejoicing.<sup>266</sup>

Increasingly, to the medieval mind Jerusalem was the most powerful place on earth. This made it the best place for the living to receive God's help. The most effective relic was a piece of the cross. It was so powerful even the shape of a cross had the ability to heal and protect people, which was why it came to be known as the symbol of the Christian Church. People used the cross to show that they were on God's business. The Holy Sepulcher was the best pilgrimage spot for those who wanted to receive forgiveness for sins. People with major sins might make several pilgrimages there. Other places and items in Jerusalem were valued for their ability to heal or protect. Jerusalem was valued by all Christians as a way to be closer to Christ. Most of the holy places Christians identified could not have dated from the time of Christ, since the city had been destroyed and then rebuilt by the Romans. But Christians went to a lot of time and trouble to find and preserve these buildings, pools and footprints in the dirt or marks in stones. Pilgrims made careful and detailed records of their trips. These personal records were carefully preserved and valued as travel guides or as ways for people to learn about Jerusalem if they could not travel there themselves. Christians wanted to feel safe while they lived.

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<sup>265</sup> "Life of Willibald," 206; "Mujir al-Din," in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 261.

<sup>266</sup> "Fulcher," 264.

They used holy places and relics to request favors from God. This reliance on physical objects to make contact with God made Jerusalem important to Christians and provided another reason for the Crusaders to protect the city.

## Chapter 4: The Crusaders

Medieval Christians valued Jerusalem as a source of God's protection. The city had the best relics and holy places because it had a direct connection to Jesus Christ who was God's mortal avatar. This connection depended on the continued existence of earthly Jerusalem. Christians could be very sensitive about how the Muslims treated Jerusalem. In 1095 Christians were very concerned about the safety of Jerusalem under Muslim care. Rumors of desecration and destruction abounded and threatened to devalue a land that Christians saw as their inheritance. Taking the city was seen as an act of penitential warfare because the crusaders were saving God's land from the Muslims.

Jerusalem was ruled by the Umayyad Muslims from 637 until 749 when the Fatimid family took over. They ruled North Africa, Syria, Egypt, Sicily and Western Arabia. The Fatimid Caliphs spent a great deal of time in Cairo, which they founded.<sup>267</sup> In 1003 Caliph al-Hakim ordered the destruction of Saint Mark's Church in Fustat, Egypt. He claimed it had been built without the permission of the government. He built the al-Rashida Mosque on the site. The building was so large that it covered two cemeteries, one Jewish and one Christian. Al-Hakim made a series of laws ordering the confiscation of Christian property in Egypt. He also ordered small mosques to be built on Christian churches. Then al-Hakim turned his attention to Palestine. There were rumors that Christians and Byzantines had been behind a series of Bedouin raids that were escalating to a revolution.<sup>268</sup> Al-Hakim made a close examination of affairs in Palestine.

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<sup>267</sup> Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East: A Brief History of the Last 2,000 Years* (New York: Scribner, 2003), 83, 89.

<sup>268</sup> Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 258-259.

He noticed that large groups of Egyptian Christians traveled to the Holy Sepulcher every Easter. A Muslim missionary named Qutekin al-Adudi explained that Christians went to the Holy Sepulcher at Easter to see the annual lighting of the fires.<sup>269</sup> Every year at Easter all of the lamps in the church were put out. The audience waited in the dark until an angel came down from heaven to light the lamps.

The following is a description of the Holy Light which descends upon the Holy Sepulcher, as the Lord vouchsafed to show me, his wicked and unworthy servant. For in truth I have seen with my own sinful eyes how the Holy Light descends upon the redeeming Tomb of our Lord Jesus Christ. . . . On Holy Friday, after Vespers, they clean the Holy Sepulcher and wash all the lamps there and fill them with pure oil, unmixed with water, and having put wicks in them, they do not light them. Seals are put on the Tomb at two in the morning and at the same time all the lamps and candles are extinguished in all the churches of Jerusalem. . . . [Abbot Daniel changes tense when he describes what happened after all the lights are put out] It was then that the Holy Light suddenly illuminated the Holy Sepulcher, stunningly bright and splendid.<sup>270</sup>

Everyone in the congregation would bring a candle and light it on one of the lamps.

Bishops from the other churches in Jerusalem would come to the ceremony and then relight the lamps in their own churches with their candles.<sup>271</sup>

This miracle created a lot of resentment among Palestinian Muslims, who thought it was a trick. One man said that the Christians used a fake miracle to convince people to

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<sup>269</sup> Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 159-160.

<sup>270</sup> "Ibn al-Qalanisi," in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 258-259.

<sup>271</sup> "Daniel the Abbot," in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 264-266; Muslim laws said that non-Muslims could worship as they chose but could not try to convert Muslims. "Pact of Umar," <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/pact-umar.html>.

convert to Christianity.<sup>272</sup> In 947 C.E. local government officials tried to stop the miracle from happening. First they tried making the ceremony illegal on the grounds that Christians were undermining Muslim rule every time they faked this miracle. The Christians complained to the Byzantine Emperor, since Byzantium traditionally acted as a mediator between Christians and the Muslim government. The Emperor told local rulers that if they criminalized the ceremony they would foment a rebellion among local Christians. The local leaders allowed the ceremony to go forward if the Christians paid a fine. On the day of the ceremony the fine had still not been paid in full and the Christians were barred from the church. Someone reported to local rulers that the lamps in the tomb had filled themselves. The doors of the Sepulcher were locked. At the appointed time the lamps in the tomb lit themselves even though there was no wick in them. At the same time the lamps and candles carried by the Christians waiting outside the church were lit.<sup>273</sup>

Qutekin also explained to al-Hakim that wealthy Christians from all over the world traveled to the Holy Sepulcher. They brought alms with them in the forms of silver, expensive cloth, tapestries, lamps, and gold. The church held a considerable amount of wealth. Al-Hakim did not like Christians but he did like money. He ordered two government agents, Yarukh and Ya'qub, to go to Jerusalem and remove all the wealth and send it to Cairo and then destroy the church. Christians living in Egypt heard

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<sup>272</sup> Mujir al-Din, 261.

<sup>273</sup> "Anonymous," in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by F.E. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 261-262.

about the orders and sent a warning to Jerusalem. Much of the wealth was removed and hidden.<sup>274</sup> The entire church, including the tomb, was leveled to the ground. Only the floor and the lower parts of the walls survived.<sup>275</sup> Al-Hakim continued to persecute Christians. He also persecuted Jews and finally Muslims. In 1016 he announced he was the incarnation of God. Five years later he rode out of Cairo alone and disappeared.<sup>276</sup> The destruction of the Holy Sepulcher was a huge part of the propaganda in 1095. Almost a hundred years after it happened, people spoke about the destruction as if it had happened yesterday.

War between the Turks and Fatimids created atrocities and rumors of atrocities. People feared that Jerusalem would be destroyed. The Turks were recent converts to Islam who began taking over Fatimid-held territory in 1055. They took Jerusalem in 1073. In 1077 there was a pro-Fatimid uprising in the city that failed. In 1098 the Fatimid dynasty finally took the city back.<sup>277</sup> For almost fifty years Jerusalem was part of an inter-Muslim war zone. The stories that traveled back to the West were wild; they claimed that Christian churches were deliberately destroyed or violated, or that pagan Muslims were not competent to rule the city. There were descriptions of Christians in Jerusalem being tortured and usually these torments were described as taking place in churches, further defiling them.<sup>278</sup> People were worried that the holy places, relics and

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<sup>274</sup> William of Tyer, 254-255; Ibn al-Qalanisi, 258-260.

<sup>275</sup> Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 10.

<sup>276</sup> Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 159-160.

<sup>277</sup> Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 228, 244, 268-270.

<sup>278</sup> "Robert the Monk," 30; "Balderic of Dol," 33; "Guibert of Nogent," 40.

their connection to heaven would be destroyed. In Balderic's version of the Clermont speech, Urban said

Of the Lord's Sepulcher we have refrained from speaking, since some of you with your own eyes have seen to what abominations it has been given over. The Turks violently took from it the offerings which you brought there for alms in such vast amounts, and, in addition, they scoffed much and often at your religion. And yet in the place (I say only what you already know) rested the Lord; there He died for us; there He was buried.<sup>279</sup>

In a letter to the crusaders in Flanders Pope Urban stated that the Muslims "laid waste the churches of God" which implied the Muslims left nothing behind.<sup>280</sup> This letter is one of the few surviving documents that came directly from Urban. One version of Urban's speech said that the churches were 'entirely destroyed.'<sup>281</sup> One chronicler said that the Muslims appropriated churches for their own services. This rendered the church useless because the altar had been violated by the blood from circumcisions. The Muslims supposedly spread the blood across the altar and in the baptismal font.<sup>282</sup> Another chronicler described such an attack:

Even while they were in the very act of celebrating the holy rites, the enemy would violently force an entrance into the churches which had been restored and preserved with such infinite difficulty. Utterly without reverence for the consecrated places, they sat upon the very altars and stuck terror to the heart of the worshippers with their mad cries and whistlings. They overturned the chalices, trod underfoot the utensils

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<sup>279</sup> "Balderic of Dol," 33-34.

<sup>280</sup> "Urban's Instructions to the Assembling Crusaders," in *The First Crusade*, edited by August C. Krey (Princeton University Press, 1921), 42-43.

<sup>281</sup> "Robert the Monk," 30.

<sup>282</sup> "Robert the Monk," 30-31.

devoted to the divine offices, broke the marble statues and showered blows and insults upon the clergy.<sup>283</sup>

These rumors were based on the actions of al-Hakim. His persecutions had included building a mosque on top of Christian and Jewish cemeteries, taking Christian property, and burning crosses.<sup>284</sup> Al-Hakim's destruction of the Holy Sepulcher showed how vulnerable the city was to destruction. Al-Hakim seems to have set the standard for Muslim behavior in Christian eyes. People were worried. If the Muslims destroyed the holy places and the relics they would break the connection with God and the Christians would lose their best source of forgiveness and miracles. The propaganda for the crusade emphasized obedience to God by saving his tomb from destruction.

Most beloved brethren, if you reverence the source of that holiness and glory, if you cherish these shrines which are the marks of His foot-prints on earth, if you seek (the way), God leading you, God fighting in your behalf, you should strive with your utmost efforts to cleanse the Holy City and the glory of the Sepulcher, now polluted by the concourse of the Gentiles, as much as is in their power. If in olden times the Maccabees attained to the highest praise of piety because they fought for the ceremonies and the Temple, it is also justly granted you, Christian soldiers, to defend the liberty of your country by armed endeavor. If you, likewise, consider that the abode of the holy apostles and any other saints should be striven for with such effort, why do you refuse to rescue the Cross, the Blood, the Tomb?<sup>285</sup>

The Crusaders considered the Muslims to be God's enemies. Fulcher supported Pope Urban because "...he restored peace and re-established the rights of the church in their pristine condition. And with a lively determination he also made an effort to drive

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<sup>283</sup> "William of Tyre," in *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*, edited by E. F. Peters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 268.

<sup>284</sup> Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 258-259.

<sup>285</sup> "Guibert of Nogent," 37.

out the pagans from the Christian lands.”<sup>286</sup> The crusaders did not think that a Christian inheritance should be held by God’s enemies. The crusaders believed they had a right to control Jerusalem because the city was given to them by God. Urban, building upon Augustine’s theories, described Jerusalem as God’s inheritance.<sup>287</sup> Medieval theology gave Christians a claim to heavenly Jerusalem. Obedient Christians claimed Jerusalem because they were God’s new chosen people. Medieval mythology gave Christians a claim to earthly Jerusalem through Charlemagne. In medieval times land was wealth; it was controlled by the head of the household and remained in the family through inheritance. If Jerusalem was God’s home then it should be controlled by his family, and his family were the Christians. Since the Christians were God’s spiritual children they had a claim on the land of Jerusalem. Reclaiming the land for God would earn them a remission of their sins.

The crusaders were acting on God’s orders. Balderic of Dol’s version of Urban’s speech said “Under Jesus Christ, our Leader, may you struggle for your Jerusalem...”<sup>288</sup> Robert the Monk has Urban saying “God wills it.”<sup>289</sup> Fulcher’s version said “...moreover Christ commands it.”<sup>290</sup> God’s support of this journey was shown by a number of signs and portents. “Moreover, the sign which was described before as seen in the sun, and many portents which appeared in the air as well as on the earth, stimulated many, who

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<sup>286</sup> “Fulcher,” 41.

<sup>287</sup> “Guibert of Nogent,” 37.

<sup>288</sup> “Balderic of Dol,” 35.

<sup>289</sup> “Robert the Monk,” 32.

<sup>290</sup> Fulcher,” 29.

had been backward before, to undertakings of this kind.”<sup>291</sup> This idea was endorsed by Pope Urban who told people to “undertake this journey for the remission of your sins.”<sup>292</sup>

Balderic of Dol discussed how Urban quoted Psalms 79:2-3

They have given the bodies of your servant to the birds of the air for food, the flesh of your faithful to the wild animals of the earth. They have poured out their blood like water around Jerusalem, and there was no one to bury them...Do not remember against us the iniquities of our ancestors; let your compassion come speedily to meet us, for we are brought very low.<sup>293</sup>

This verse was the text for masses sung at Christmas and Ember Saturday so the audience would have recognized the verse.<sup>294</sup> The Muslims had “...devastated the kingdom of God.”<sup>295</sup>

The propaganda was fierce. According to Western commentators, the Turks were not holy men. Robert the Monk recorded that:

From the confines of Jerusalem and the city of Constantinople a horrible tale has gone forth and very frequently has been brought to our ears; namely, that a race from the kingdom of the Persians, an accursed race, a race utterly alienated from God, a generation, forsooth, which has neither directed its heart nor entrusted its spirit to God, has invaded the lands of those Christians ...<sup>296</sup>

People also complained that the Muslims had taken over the church of Peter in Antioch.

Legend said that the Apostle Peter had presided in that church as the Bishop of Antioch.

Now Christians could not worship there. Churches everywhere were profaned. Jerusalem

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<sup>291</sup> “Ekkehard,” 46.

<sup>292</sup> “Robert the Monk,” 32.

<sup>293</sup> “Balderic of Dol,” 34; Psalms 79:2-3,8 (New Oxford Annotated).

<sup>294</sup> James W. McKinnon, *The Advent Project: The Later-Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 232, 290.

<sup>295</sup> “Fulcher,” 29.

<sup>296</sup> “Robert the Monk,” 30.

had been “withdrawn from the service of God.” The city where Christ died was polluted. No one served in the church where Mary was buried. There were idols in the Temple of Solomon. It was contrary to man’s laws and God’s.<sup>297</sup>

These concerns about Jerusalem’s integrity, the unclean people, and the pollution<sup>298</sup> led to the First Crusade. When Urban heard the rumors he went into France to raise a fighting force. He encouraged men to act with full faith in God and fight the devil in Jerusalem and raise the honor of the church by defeating the wicked Muslims.<sup>299</sup>

When now that time was at hand which the Lord Jesus daily points out to His faithful, especially in the Gospel, saying, “If any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me,” a mighty agitation was carried on throughout all the region of Gaul. (Its tenor was) that if anyone desired to follow the Lord zealously, with a pure heart and mind, and wished faithfully to bear the cross after Him, he would no longer hesitate to take up the way to the Holy Sepulcher.<sup>300</sup>

The Crusaders went to protect their inheritance from spiritual and physical pollution.

Urban also focused on the need to help fellow Christians in trouble. One recorded version of his speech read “Your own blood-brothers, your companions, your associates are either subjected in their inherited homes to other masters, or are driven from them, or they come as beggars among us; or, which is far worse, they are flogged and exiled as slaves for sale in their own land.”<sup>301</sup> Another read “Oh what reproaches will be charged against you by the Lord Himself if you have not helped those who are counted like

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<sup>297</sup> “Balderic of Dol,” 33-34.

<sup>298</sup> “Robert the Monk,” 31.

<sup>299</sup> “Fulcher,” 26.

<sup>300</sup> “Gesta,” in *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants*, edited by August C. Krey (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1921), 28.

<sup>301</sup> “Balderic of Dol,” 33.

yourselves, of the Christian faith.”<sup>302</sup> If God would ‘reproach’ a lack of action he would reward those who helped save their fellow Christians. Robert the Monk said, “From you especially, she asks succor, because, as we have already said, God has conferred upon you, above all nations, great glory in arms.”<sup>303</sup> Past popes had granted remission of sins to those who fought pagans especially if in doing so the soldiers saved other Christians. Liberating Christians and Christian land in Jerusalem was the grandest service to God.

The crusaders were specifically asked to liberate the Holy Sepulcher.<sup>304</sup> Christ’s tomb was the heart of the city for Christians. His death was the center point of all Christian doctrine because it was believed that Christ had died to save mankind. The tomb was the best place to go to receive forgiveness for major sins. Christ’s cross was the most powerful relic in the world. Using a cross showed that one stood for God. Like the shape of the tomb in early Christianity the cross symbolized God’s sacrifice for man. It also symbolized man’s obedience to God’s command to follow him. Urban told crusaders to wear crosses on their clothing when they left for Jerusalem.<sup>305</sup> Fulcher says “It was indeed proper that soldiers of God who prepared to fight for His honor should be signed and fortified by this fitting emblem (cross) of victory; and since, they thus marked themselves with this symbol under the acknowledgment of faith, finally they very truly

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<sup>302</sup> “Fulcher of Chartres,” 29-30.

<sup>303</sup> “Robert the Monk,” 32.

<sup>304</sup> Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition of Jerusalem*, edited by Harold S. Fink, translated by Frances Rita Ryan (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1969), 123; *The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, edited by Rosalind Hill (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1962), 1.

<sup>305</sup> “Robert the Monk,” Medieval Sourcebook, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/urban2-5vers.html>.

obtained the Cross of which they carried the symbol.”<sup>306</sup> Crusaders may have sworn their vow by the Cross, or on a piece of the True Cross. A cross sewn onto clothing was probably used to distinguish a crusader from an ordinary traveler.<sup>307</sup> Bohemond, one of the crusade leaders, ordered that his cloak be cut up and turned into crosses for the crusaders.<sup>308</sup> After taking the city the crusaders found what they thought was a piece of the cross, decorated it and put it in the Holy Sepulcher.<sup>309</sup> This was one of the first things the Crusaders did after the fighting ended. We know that some crusaders, like Baldwin of Le Bourcq, Bohemond I, and Stephen of Blois, made visits to the Holy Sepulcher and other shrines as part of fulfilling their crusade vows. Such visits may have been required of all crusaders.<sup>310</sup>

The crusaders also went to Jerusalem for forgiveness. The crusade was a penitential war. Fighting in it was a way to obtain forgiveness and avoid hell or purgatory. The reformed clergy created family traditions of pilgrimage, worship of relics and religious warfare. Crusade propaganda built upon these traditions and had special appeal to families like the Montlhery’s who were active participants in the clergy’s reforms. Urban presented crusading as a way to protect important pilgrimage sites in the holy land. This resonated with people who had family traditions of service to God through fighting for the popes, supporting reforming orders like the Cistercians and the

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<sup>306</sup> “Fulcher,” 41.

<sup>307</sup> Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, 116-118.

<sup>308</sup> *The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, 7.

<sup>309</sup> Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, 125.

<sup>310</sup> Brundage, *Medieval Cannon Law and the Crusader*, 122-123.

Cluniacs and going on pilgrimages. Families like the Montlherys and the Le Puisets sent many men on crusade and kept sending them.<sup>311</sup>

These families believed they could contribute to their salvation by going on crusade.<sup>312</sup> This was because the crusade was presented as a form of pilgrimage. Brunet of Treuil was going into a monastery, but he changed his mind and left on crusade instead. He used his entry gift to buy equipment.<sup>313</sup> Many crusaders came from families with strong traditions of involvement in reformed monasticism. The Montlhery's were one of the Castilian families that controlled France. Their founding ancestor, Guy I, had been attracted to Cluniac monasticism. He founded a Cluniac priory, and died as a monk. His grandson was King Baldwin II of Jerusalem. Baldwin was related to Godfrey of Bouillon, the first king of Jerusalem. He traveled to Jerusalem with Godfrey's forces. He became Count of Odessa and then king when Godfrey died.<sup>314</sup> Baldwin was consecrated April 14, 1118.<sup>315</sup>

Guy I had four very fertile daughters.<sup>316</sup> At least two of the families they married into, St Valerie and Le Puiset, sent people on crusade. Nearly thirty of Guy's descendants went on the First Crusade, including two sons, two sons-in-law, one granddaughter and her husband, one grandson-in-law, one great-grandson, and one great-

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<sup>311</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, Appendix I Preliminary list of crusaders 197-246.

<sup>312</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 2.

<sup>313</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 70.

<sup>314</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 170-171.

<sup>315</sup> Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, 4.

<sup>316</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, Appendix II.

grandson-in-law.<sup>317</sup> They went for various reasons and had various experiences. Miles of Bray from Champagne was doing penance.<sup>318</sup> He asked the monks of Longpont-sous-Monthery, which was probably founded by his family, to pray for him before he went.<sup>319</sup> Guy of Rochefort returned in honor and glory.<sup>320</sup> But Guy Trousseau of Monthery came home discouraged and tired.<sup>321</sup> He went over the wall one night during a battle and deserted.<sup>322</sup> Humberge of Le Puiset was one of seven women who traveled with their husbands.<sup>323</sup> No records remain of their personal reasons for going or for their reactions to the crusade. But they came from families with histories of involvement with Cluny and they probably responded to Urban's portrayal of the crusade as a continuation of reformed traditions, like pilgrimage and armed service to God.

The Le Puiset family was another of the Castilian families in France.<sup>324</sup> Evrard III of Le Puiset was the son of Alice of Monthery. His family supported the abbey at Marmoutier and he made lots of gifts to religious houses before leaving on crusade.<sup>325</sup> He traveled with Stephen of Blois and Hugh of Vermandois in 1096. Evrard left his brother Hugh to manage his estates until his son came of age.<sup>326</sup> Gilduin du Puiset, the fourth son of Hugh and Alice, Evrard's brother, became a monk at St-Martin-des-

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<sup>317</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 171.

<sup>318</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 70.

<sup>319</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 119.

<sup>320</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 149.

<sup>321</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 147.

<sup>322</sup> *The Deed of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, 36.

<sup>323</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 107.

<sup>324</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 170.

<sup>325</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 123-127.

<sup>326</sup> John L. La Monte, "The Lords of Le Puiset On the Crusades," *Speculum*, Vol., 17 No. 1 (2005), 100-101.

Champs, and a prior of a Cluniac abbey called Lupercy. He made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and stayed. He was named abbot of Josaphat in 1120.<sup>327</sup> Gui of Macon entered a Cluniac monastery. His cousin and heir William produced six sons and five daughters. Two of these sons joined the church, two went on crusade, and one went to fight in Spain.<sup>328</sup> These families had a strong history with the reformed clergy before leaving on crusade. Perhaps they saw their successes as God's reward for their obedience.

Active family participation was necessary to crusaders. Family members agreed to mortgages or sales of land to raise money, and those who were left behind took over the management of family lands.<sup>329</sup> For example, Miles of Bray left his eldest son in charge of his lands.<sup>330</sup> One crusader mortgaged his entire inheritance to the Cistercian monks. The conditions were that only he could redeem it and he had to pay 2000 solidi. If he did not return the land would be a gift to the monks for the salvation of his soul.

The First Crusade was a form of violence approved by most of society and more importantly supported by the church. It was a military campaign begun by the pope and fought by those who had taken a form of religious vows and enjoyed religious privileges. As a service to God the crusade was an act of penance. This idea was endorsed by Pope Urban who told people to "...undertake this journey for the remission of your sins."<sup>331</sup>

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<sup>327</sup> La Monte, "The Lord's of Le Puiset On the Crusades," 109.

<sup>328</sup> Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 154-155.

<sup>329</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 2.

<sup>330</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 138.

<sup>331</sup> "Robert the Monk," 32.

Crusading enthusiasm was a by-product of an almost morbid concern with sinfulness. Men and women were acutely conscious that a feature of their society was a predisposition to sin because the Church, under the influence of monks, was engaged in a program of evangelizing the secular world. Each crusader took a vow to go to Jerusalem and fight the Muslims as a way of punishing themselves for their sins and repaying their debt to God. "There can be no doubt that the crusaders understood that they were performing a penance and that the exercise they were embarking on could contribute to their future salvation."<sup>332</sup> The crusade was first and foremost a form of penance.<sup>333</sup> It was a way to spend less time in purgatory. People especially wanted forgiveness for the sin of violence. Urban called for a penitential war and promised a remission of sins in exchange for saving Jerusalem.

The First Crusade was a penitential war because the crusaders were rescuing Jerusalem from God's enemies. In 1095 Christians believed that the Muslims posed a threat to the city's existence. Rumors claimed the Muslims were defiling and destroying churches as they persecuted Christians in Jerusalem. These rumors were partially sparked by the ongoing war between two groups of Muslims and partly by the actions of Caliph Al-Hakim. Al-Hakim ordered the Holy Sepulcher destroyed in 1009. He razed the church to gain the wealth that was stored in it and to put an end to the yearly miracle of the lighting of the fires. The miracle had annoyed Muslim rulers for many years because it was such a good conversion tool for the Christians. Crusade propaganda focused on the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher even though it had happened almost a hundred years

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<sup>332</sup> Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 14.

<sup>333</sup> Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, xxx-xxxi, 11.

before. If the holy places and relics in Jerusalem had been destroyed Christians would have lost their best connection to God. If Jerusalem had been entirely destroyed the connection to heavenly Jerusalem would have been lost. The rumored desecration of Jerusalem violated a land that Christians saw as God's property and their rightful inheritance.

## Conclusion

Jerusalem was believed to be a source of salvation from the world. It gave people an escape from the punishment that they believed they were due for their sins. Heavenly Jerusalem was not the physical city. Earthly Jerusalem was too human, too imperfect to be heaven. To reconcile these dichotomies the Christians believed in two Jerusalems: the one on earth and the one that was heaven. The Christian concept of heaven was a Christian extension of the Jewish belief in the promised land. The Jews believed that God's care for them was through their ownership of a piece of land identified with modern day Palestine. God promised Abraham that his descendants would have God's protection as long as they obeyed him. This promise was sealed and symbolized by a gift of land that was to become a great kingdom ruled by Abraham's family. This promise was realized by the Jews after they returned from Egypt and took the land, then called Canaan, from the Canaanites. King David made Jerusalem the country's capital. His son built a temple in Jerusalem and moved the Ark of the Covenant into the Temple. As the years passed tradition made the Jerusalem temple the center of God's promise to the Jews. Early Christians adopted the idea of having a kingdom just for God's chosen people. But they made their kingdom the reward for obedience. The early Christian promised land was heavenly Jerusalem, a perfect city that would come to earth after the Apocalypse. For medieval Christians heavenly Jerusalem was an escape from a difficult life and an eternity of punishment in hell. After they died they would go to God's kingdom. Heavenly Jerusalem would be cleansed from sin. It would be comfortable - even luxurious. This contrasted sharply with medieval living conditions which were

cramped and uncomfortable even for the wealthy. Heavenly Jerusalem would be free from earth's greatest problem, warfare. Medieval Europe was ridden with violence. Earthly attempts to control or stop the violence had mostly failed. People placed their hope in the existence of heavenly Jerusalem.

Early Christian doctrine held that people went to heaven or to hell. They were sent there to be tortured as a punishment for the sins they committed in their lives. Sinners might be hung by their hair over boiling water or have their eyes poked out by hot skewers. In the sixth century the idea of purgatory developed. Purgatory was a place between heaven and hell for the temporary punishment of sins. People could get out of purgatory by praying, repenting, and performing good deeds and suffering. The church began a series of reforms in the eleventh century designed to help lay people earn their way into heaven. These reforms encouraged gifts of money or land to the church, pilgrimages and fighting for God by fighting for the church. This last represented a major change in Christian ideology. Before this fighting had been condemned. Tradition and scholarship made fighting for certain causes an acceptable penance. This was the doctrinal justification for crusading. The tradition started with the *fideles beati Petri* who took temporary oaths to fight for God. These soldiers were promised forgiveness for their sins in return for their service. This tradition of service created the doctrine of penitential warfare - wars fought in the name of God. When Urban called the First Crusade he made it a penitential war.

Early Christians had considered Jerusalem, the city of the Jews, cursed. This changed with the discovery of Christ's tomb and the favorable publicity from Christian

scholars and ascetics. There was a rise in pilgrimage and a change in opinions. Jerusalem became known as the center of the earth. As the center of the earth the city was also believed to be the site of all important events and the originating point of all Christian doctrine. These changes in belief made the crucifixion a blessing rather than a crime and Jerusalem became seen as a Christian city rather than a Jewish one. Medieval Christians considered earthly and heavenly Jerusalem their rightful inheritance. Saint Paul said that heavenly Jerusalem belonged to the Christians because they were God's new chosen people. Augustine theorized that Christians were included in God's promise to Abraham and had a right to heavenly Jerusalem as long as they obeyed God's laws. Finally Christian legend claimed that Charlemagne had been given Jerusalem by Caliph Harun al-Rashid.

As Jerusalem became a Christian city, Christians developed new mythologies about the city. They adopted the Jewish idea that Jerusalem was the center of the earth. They also decided that Jerusalem was central to God's plans. Christ's death had been considered a murder. But Christian doctrine was based around the idea that God, as Christ, had sacrificed his life for mankind. According to Augustine Christ's sacrifice was responsible for every single conversion to Christianity that had or ever would happen. The crucifixion was the glory of Jerusalem. The city was a valuable visual aide. Jerusalem was seen as a reminder of heaven. The physical city was a gift to mortals to help them remember heaven. Heavenly Jerusalem and earthly Jerusalem were mirror images. Medieval Christians believed that a part equaled a whole. Earthly Jerusalem was part of heaven so it had some of heaven's powers including heaven's ability to save souls.

Folklore claimed that those who died in Jerusalem or on the way to Jerusalem went straight to heaven.

Jerusalem was also going to be the site of the Apocalypse which would bring heaven to earth. Christians had many theories about when the world was going to end. They thought that the end of the world required a Christian kingdom in Jerusalem. This worried people because there was no Christian kingdom in Jerusalem and many people expected the world to end soon. After the Frankish Empire collapsed and Europe became destabilized people looked to the end of the world to create permanent stability. Charlemagne and his empire became the Christian ideal. Christians expected heaven to be similar. Some Crusade propaganda called for soldiers to create a Christian kingdom in Jerusalem as part of God's plan to bring heaven to earth.

Jerusalem was also valued as a conduit to God. The city was believed to be filled with relics and holy places that could be used to funnel God's power. People wanted God to protect them from evil. The closer relics and holy places were to Christ the more powerful they were. After the discovery of Christ's tomb Jerusalem became the most popular site for pilgrims. There were numerous guidebooks, mostly the private journals and letters of pilgrims that were carefully preserved and copied for others. It was popular as well as necessary to build places to house pilgrims; the city was dotted with hostels and monasteries. Christians studied the Bible in depth looking for clues to the whereabouts of holy places and relics. They found almost all of them. The most popular holy place was the Holy Sepulcher. The church was especially valuable to pilgrims seeking forgiveness for sins. The building was the center of the Christian religion because

it housed Christ's tomb. The most popular relic was the cross. It was so powerful that even the shape could be used for miracles. Almost every pilgrim brought back a piece of the Cross. Supposedly it multiplied itself to make enough relics for everyone who came to see it.

In 1009 The Holy Sepulcher was destroyed by a Muslim Caliph. This caused shock waves throughout Christianity. People were appalled at the destruction and frightened that the building and its connection to God could be so easily destroyed. The destruction also defined their expectations of Muslim behavior. That was why people were so willing to believe the rumors coming out of Jerusalem in 1095. The rumors claimed that inter-Muslim warfare was destroying Jerusalem. Muslims were accused of violating churches, destroying churches and abusing Christians. Land was wealth in medieval Europe and its defense was vital. The Muslims supposed actions in 1095 polluted God's land by removing it from his service. That was why Urban called for a crusade. The Crusade was seen as an act of penitential warfare because soldiers were doing God a favor by protecting his home and his people. This appealed to many noble families, like the Montlherys and the Le Puisets, who had a long tradition of service to God.

Medieval Christianity was characterized by a belief that connecting to God required physical objects. Early Christians rejected the idea that God needed or wanted a physical kingdom on earth. Medieval Christians thought that an earthly kingdom was necessary to God. They made the same shift over the idea that God needed a king to represent him on earth. The Jews believed their kings were appointed by God. Early

Christianity rejected the idea and medieval Christianity brought it back. That was why they put so much effort into maintaining Jerusalem. They poured funds not only into the crusade itself, but into building churches, monasteries and hostels. They also provided the money and effort it took to maintain them. The change from the early Christian emphasis on the spiritual world and the unimportance of the physical world to the early medieval Christian emphasis on the need for physical connections to God created the canon of saints, relics, holy places. Pilgrims added to the church's wealth by bringing offerings to churches with relics or to holy places like the Holy Sepulcher. Nobles added to the church's power by giving them land and founding monasteries and nunneries. In the high Middle Ages these traditions of soliciting or buying God's favor created the sale of indulgences. The sales of indulgences made up a large part of church funds. They were also one of the reasons for the Protestant Revolution. Luther denounced the sale of indulgences in his 95 Theses.<sup>334</sup>

The First Crusade started a series of wars. The Christians lost Jerusalem in 1187. A series of attempts were made to retake the city. The last campaign to Jerusalem was in 1359. The Hospitallers of St. John continued to try and raise armies to retake Jerusalem until 1798 when the order was destroyed.<sup>335</sup> There were other crusades - wars fought against various groups who Christians considered pagans and dissenters, such as the war fought against the Cathars in 1209.<sup>336</sup> The word crusade is still an important part of the modern lexicon. One definition of the word is 'a romantic or enthusiastic enterprise.' The

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<sup>334</sup> Chambers, *The Western Experience*, 375-376.

<sup>335</sup> Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 111, 296.

<sup>336</sup> Tyremann, *God's War*, 573.

Crusades left a darker legacy. Osama bin Laden claimed that his attacks on America were a continuation of a war between the east and the west that began with the Crusades.<sup>337</sup> Of course none of this was apparent in 1099. The crusaders wanted to protect Jerusalem because it embodied so many of their hopes.

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<sup>337</sup> Tom Holland, *Persian Fire: The First World Empire and the Battle for the West* (New York: Anchor Books, 2005), xi-xii.

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